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IN PROSE AND VERSE

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"WE LOVE OUR LAND FOR WHAT SHE IS AND WHAT SHE
IS TO BE"

—HENRY VAN DYKE'S *America for Me*

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM
IN
PROSE AND VERSE

1775-1918

SELECTED AND EDITED

BY

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HISTORY DEPARTMENT, HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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PREFACE

THE specific object of this volume is to help to Americanize the youth of this country, whether of native or of foreign birth. One of the best uses of our schools is to bring about an unshakable mental and moral attachment of the American people to the aspirations and ideals of America. The child is the future adult citizen. Education is the living spring of his character. The ideals of the nation are to be developed in the child, because only thus do they become of any real value to him, and through him to the nation. One main purpose of our schools is to sow the seeds of national inspiration and aspiration. If democracy is to endure, democratic ideals must be woven into the very texture of the thoughts, the feelings, and the life of the individual: for "character is destiny."

The universal study and teaching of American ideals could in no wise produce the character-type that the study and teaching of Race ideals produce in certain foreign countries. For the ideals themselves are as far apart as the poles. American ideals teach no special race prerogatives, disclose no national militarism, insist not at all upon blind slavish obedience to the State as mere Power. An understanding and practice of American ideals will lead to directly opposite results. The teaching of narrow race beliefs uncivilizes and dehumanizes the individual, and makes of the nation an aggregation of human beings without respect for the laws of civilized mankind. In other words, the teaching of such ideals defeats the true object of education and of the individual.

The object of this volume is really set forth in these comments upon the study and teaching of the objects and ideals of the nations referred to. Ideals to be studied must be put into definite concrete form. Herewith is presented a volume which contains a large number of important State papers, documents, speeches, addresses, epigrammatic statements, songs, hymns, and verses known to be of abiding value, derived from those who not only have studied about our democratic ideals, but have valiantly preached and practiced them.

It is possible that we have proceeded too long on the basis that American patriotism will take care of itself because American democracy is divine, and therefore imperishable. This is not an entirely safe conception. We should have made a studied attempt to teach American patriotism and American ideals. Patriotism can be taught; democratic ideals can be developed. The significance of American history and American institutions can be emphasized in our schools and in our homes. It cannot be overemphasized.

Even our history classes, our classes in English, our classes in declamation, may be made also classes in American patriotism, centers of inspiration for American ideals. Out of such instruction may come a devoted citizenship, an intelligent basis of belief in democracy, and an aid to the forwarding of the ideals of democracy itself. For such work in classes it is hoped that this volume has been conveniently arranged — in chronological order — a plan particularly helpful to classes in history.

The editor hopes that the adult citizens of America — both native-born and foreign-born — may find in this handy little volume a veritable political handbook. He even hopes that they may often pick it up and familiarize themselves with the purposes and ideals of this the most successful great democracy in the world. Parents he hopes may read now and then to the younger members of the

family from its pages, particularly those pages of verse that set forth our ideals so inspiringly to the young mind.

Public speakers, preachers, members of the Congress of the United States, Senators and Representatives in the various state legislatures, city councilmen, and writers, all ought to find this little volume a veritable help and inspiration to them in their work.

The reader will find brief biographical notes about each author whose material appears in the volume, and these notes usually relate the circumstances under which the pieces were composed. The index of authors at the end of the book will prove serviceable.

Permission to reprint copyright matter has been granted with the greatest of courtesy.

Grateful acknowledgment is here made to all writers and publishers who have so generously coöperated in the compiling of this work; in particular, to Walter Lippmann and to Henry Holt and Company, his publishers, for permission to quote a selection from his volume, *Preface to Politics*, and to Thomas Buchanan Read and the J. B. Lippincott Company, his publishers, for permission to quote his poem, "The Revolutionary Rising." The selections by Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Emerson, Whittier, and Howe are used by permission of and by special arrangement with the Houghton Mifflin Company, authorized publishers of their works. Special mention is made of the fact that the editor has, with the very kind permission of Professor Willis Mason West and his publishers, Allyn and Bacon, made liberal use of the facts of American history as set forth and interpreted by Professor West in his "American History and Government." The editor also wishes to express his great indebtedness to the publishers of "Who's Who In America," and of "Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States," publications which he freely consulted in securing biographical data. A life-long friend, a careful student, and a partic-

ularly successful teacher of English, Mr. Harold C. Newton, of the English Department of the Hope Street High School, Providence, Rhode Island, had the kindness to review the "notes" contained in this volume. His assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

J. MADISON GATHANY.

SEEKONK, MASSACHUSETTS,

July 1, 1918.

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PART ONE

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM IN PROSE



AMERICAN PATRIOTISM IN PROSE AND VERSE

SPEECH ON LIBERTY BEFORE VIRGINIA CONVENTION °

BY PATRICK HENRY. (MARCH 23, 1775)

MR. PRESIDENT: No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as the abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope that it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part I consider it as ¹⁰ nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep ¹⁵ back my opinion at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason toward my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

[Mr. President, ⁷it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged
 5 in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the
 10 whole truth; to know the worst and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging the future but by the past. And judging by the past,
 I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the
 15 British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not
 20 yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown our-
 25 selves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be
 30 not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motives for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other.
 35 They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us *those chains which the British Ministry have been so long forging.* And

what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer on the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we re-
 sort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have re-
 monstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated our-
 selves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the Ministry and Parlia-
 ment. Our petitions have been slighted; our remon-
 strances have produced additional violences and insult; 5
 our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free — if we mean to preserve 20
 inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending — if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall 25
 be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us.

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be 30
 stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying 35
 supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom

of hope, until our enemies have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of the means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and
5 in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations; and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The
10 battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their
15 clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable — and let it come! I repeat, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace — but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the
20 North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it,
25 Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE °

(IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776)

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN
CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, 5 a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:— That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their 10 Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government be- 15 comes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will 20 dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. 25 But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new

guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

15 He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights 25 of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in 30 the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to 35 encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of 5 their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, 10 without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged 15 by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabit- 20 ants of these States ;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ; 25

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences ;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at 30 once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments ; 35

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring

themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

5 He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty
10 and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to
15 fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and
20 conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which
25 may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded
30 them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and
35 correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, ac-

quiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to 5 the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from 10 all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, 15 and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

20

THE NATURE OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION °

BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON. (JUNE 30, 1788)

THIS is one of those subjects, Mr. Chairman, on which objections very naturally arise and assume the most plausible shape. Its address is to the passions, and its impressions create a prejudice before cool examination has an opportunity for exertion. It is more easy for the human mind 25 to calculate the evils than the advantages of a measure, and vastly more natural to apprehend the danger than to see the necessity of giving powers to our rulers. Hence, I may justly expect that those who hear me will place less confidence in those arguments which oppose than in those 30 which favor their prepossessions.

After all our doubts, our suspicions and speculations on the subject of government, we must return at last to this important truth — that when we have formed a constitution upon free principles, when we have given a proper
5 balance to the different branches of the administration, and fixed representation upon pure and equal principles, we may, with safety, furnish it with all the powers necessary to answer in the most ample manner the purposes of government. The great desiderata^o are a free representa-
10 tion and mutual checks. When these are obtained, all our apprehensions of the extent of powers are unjust and imaginary. What, then, is the structure of this Constitution? One branch of the legislature is to be elected by the people — by the same people who choose your State representa-
15 tives. Its members are to hold their office two years, and then return to their constituents. Here, Sir, the people govern; here they act by their immediate representatives. You have also a Senate, constituted by your State legislatures — by men in whom you place the highest confidence
20 and forming another representative branch. Then again you have an executive magistrate, created by a form of election which merits universal admiration. In the form of this government, and in the mode of legislation, you find all the checks which the greatest politicians and the
25 best writers have ever conceived. What more can reasonable men desire? Is there any one branch in which the whole legislative and executive powers are lodged? No. The legislative authority is lodged in three distinct branches, properly balanced; the executive authority is
30 divided between two branches; and the judicial is still reserved for an independent body, who hold their offices during good behavior. This organization is so complex, so skilfully contrived, that it is next to impossible that an impolitic or wicked measure should pass the great scrutiny
35 with success. Now what do gentlemen mean by coming forward and declaiming against this government? Why

do they say we ought to limit its powers, to disable it, and to destroy its capacity of blessing the people? Has philosophy suggested, has experience taught that such a government ought not to be trusted with everything necessary for the good of society? Sir, when you have 5 divided and nicely balanced the departments of government; when you have strongly connected the virtue of your rulers with their interest; when, in short, you have rendered your system as perfect as human forms can be, you must place confidence, you must give power. 10

We have heard a great deal of the sword and the purse; it is said our liberties are in danger if both are possessed by Congress. Let us see what is the true meaning of this maxim, which has been so much used and so little understood. It is that you shall not place these powers in either 15 the legislative or executive singly; neither one nor the other shall have both, because this would destroy that division of powers on which political liberty is founded, and would furnish one body with all the means of tyranny. But where the purse is lodged in one branch, and the 20 sword in another, there can be no danger. All governments have possessed these powers; they would be monsters without them, and incapable of exertion. What is your State government? Does not your legislature command what money it pleases? Does not your execu- 25 tive execute the laws without restraint? These distinctions between the purse and the sword have no application to the system, but only to its separate branches. Sir, when we reason about the great interests of a great people, it is high time that we dismiss our prejudices and 30 banish declamation.

In order to induce us to consider the powers given by this constitution as dangerous, in order to render plausible any attempt to take away the life and spirit of the most important power in government, — the gentleman complains that we shall not have a true and safe representation.

I asked him what a safe representation was, and he has given no satisfactory answer. The Assembly of New York has been mentioned as a proper standard; but if we apply this standard to the general government, our Congress
5 will become a mere mob, exposed to every irregular impulse, and subject to every breeze of faction. Can such a system afford security? Can you have confidence in such a body? The idea of taking the ratio of representation in a small society for the ratio of a great one is a fallacy
10 which ought to be exposed. It is impossible to ascertain to what point our representation will increase; it may vary from one to two, three, or four hundred; it depends upon the progress of population. Suppose it is to rest at two hundred; is not this number sufficient to secure it against
15 corruption? Human nature must be a much more weak and despicable thing than I apprehend it to be if two hundred of our fellow-citizens can be corrupted in two years. But suppose they are corrupted; can they in two years accomplish their designs? Can they form a combina-
20 tion, and even lay a foundation for a system of tyranny, in so short a period? It is far from my intention to wound the feelings of any gentleman; but I must, in this most interesting discussion, speak of things as they are, and hold up opinions in the light in which they ought to ap-
25 pear; and I maintain that all that has been said of corruption, of the purse and the sword, and of the danger of giving powers, is not supported by principle or fact; that it is mere verbiage and idle declamation. The true principle of government is this: make the system complete in
30 its structure, give a perfect proportion and balance to its parts, and the powers you give it will never affect your security. The question, then, of the division of powers between the general and state governments is a question of convenience; it becomes a prudential inquiry what
35 powers are proper to be reserved to the latter, and this immediately involves another inquiry into the proper

objects of the two governments. This is the criterion by which we shall determine the just distribution of powers.

The great leading objects of the federal government, in which revenue is concerned, are to maintain domestic peace and provide for the common defence. In these are 5 comprehended the regulation of commerce; that is, the whole system of foreign intercourse, the support of armies and navies, and of the civil administration. It is useless to go into detail. Every one knows that the objects of the general government are numerous, extensive, and im- 10 portant. Every one must acknowledge the necessity of giving powers in all respects, and in every degree equal to these objects. The principle assented to, let us inquire what are the objects of the State governments. Have they to provide against foreign invasion? Have they to main- 15 tain fleets and armies? Have they any concern in the regulation of commerce, the procuring alliances, or forming treaties of peace? No. Their objects are merely civil and domestic: to support the legislative establishment, and to provide for the administration of the laws. Let any one 20 compare the expense of supporting the civil list in a State with the expense of providing for the defence of the Union. The difference is almost beyond calculation. The experience of Great Britain will throw some light on this subject. In that kingdom the ordinary expenses of peace 25 to those of war are as one to fourteen; but there they have a monarch, with his splendid court, and an enormous civil establishment, with which we have nothing in this country to compare. If in Great Britain the expenses of war and peace are so disproportioned, how wide will be their dis- 30 parity in the United States! how infinitely wider between the general government and each individual State! Now, Sir, where ought the great resources to be lodged? Every rational man will give an immediate answer. To what extent shall these resources be possessed? Reason says, 35 as far as possible exigencies can require; that is, without

limitation. A constitution cannot set bounds to a nation's wants; it ought not, therefore, to set bounds to its resources. Unexpected invasions, long and ruinous wars, may demand all the possible abilities of the country.
5 Shall not your government have power to call these abilities into action? The contingencies of society are not reducible to calculations. They cannot be fixed or bounded even in imagination. Will you limit the means of your defence when you cannot ascertain the force or
10 extent of the invasion? Even in ordinary wars a government is frequently obliged to call for supplies to the temporary oppression of the people.

Sir, if we adopt the idea of exclusive revenues, we shall be obliged to fix some distinguished line which neither
15 government shall overpass. The inconveniences of this measure must appear evident on the slightest examination. The resources appropriated to one may diminish or fail, while those of the other may increase beyond the wants of government. One may be destitute of revenues, while the
20 other shall possess an unnecessary abundance, and the constitution will be an eternal barrier to a mutual intercourse and relief. In this case, will the individual states stand on so good a ground as if the objects of taxation were left free and open to the embrace of both the govern-
25 ments? Possibly, in the advancement of commerce, the imports may increase to such a degree as to render direct taxes unnecessary. These resources, then, as the constitution stands, may be occasionally relinquished to the States; but on the gentleman's idea of prescribing ex-
30 clusive limits and precluding all reciprocal communication, this would be entirely improper. The laws of the States must not touch the appropriated resources of the United States whatever may be their wants. Would it not be of more advantage to the States to have a concurrent juris-
35 diction extending to all the sources of revenue than to be confined to such a small resource as, on calculation of the

objects of the two governments, should appear to be their due proportion? Certainly you cannot hesitate on this question. The gentleman's plan would have a further ill effect: it would tend to dissolve the connection and correspondence of the two governments, to estrange them 5 from each other, and to destroy that mutual dependence which forms the essence of union. Sir, a number of arguments have been advanced by an honorable member from New York, which, to every unclouded mind, must carry conviction. He has stated that in sudden emergencies it 10 may be necessary to borrow, unless you have funds to pledge for the payment of your debts. Limiting the powers of the government to certain resources is rendering the fund precarious; and obliging the government to ask instead of empowering it to command, is to destroy all 15 confidence and credit. If the power of taxing is restricted, the consequence is that, on the breaking out of a war, you must divert the funds appropriated to the payment of debts to answer immediate exigencies. Thus you violate your engagements at the very time you increase the burden 20 of them. Besides, sound policy condemns the practice of accumulating debts. A government, to act with energy, should have the possession of all its revenues to answer present purposes. The principle for which I contend is recognized in all its extent by our old constitution. Con- 25 gress is authorized to raise troops, to call for supplies without limitation, and to borrow money to any amount. It is true they must use the form of recommendations and requisitions; but the States are bound by the solemn ties of honor, of justice, of religion, to comply without reserve. 30 .

Mr. Chairman, it has been advanced as a principle that no government but a despotism can exist in a very extensive country. This is a melancholy consideration indeed. If it were founded on truth, we ought to dismiss the idea of a republican government, even for the State 35 of New York. This idea has been taken from a cele-

brated writer who, by being misunderstood, has been the occasion of frequent fallacies in our reasoning on political subjects. But the position has been misapprehended, and its application is entirely false and unwarrantable.

5 It relates only to democracies, where the whole body of the people meet to transact business and where representation is unknown. Such were a number of ancient and some modern independent cities. Men who read without attention have taken these maxims respecting the extent of

10 country, and contrary to their proper meaning have applied them to republics in general. This application is wrong in respect to all representative governments, but especially in relation to a confederacy of States, in which the supreme legislature has only general powers, and the

15 civil and domestic concerns of the people are regulated by the laws of the several States. This distinction being kept in view, all the difficulty will vanish, and we may easily conceive that the people of a large country may be represented as truly as those of a smaller one. An assembly

20 constituted for general purposes may be fully competent to every federal regulation, without being too numerous for deliberate conduct. If the State governments were to be abolished, the question would wear a different face; but this idea is inadmissible. They are absolutely neces-

25 sary to the system. Their existence must form a leading principle in the most perfect constitution we could form. I insist that it never can be the interest or desire of the national Legislature to destroy the State governments. It can derive no advantage from such an event; but, on

30 the contrary, would lose an indispensable support, a necessary aid in executing the laws and conveying the influence of government to the doors of the people. The Union is dependent on the will of the State governments for its chief magistrate and for its Senate. The blow

35 aimed at the members must give a fatal wound to the head, and the destruction of the States must be at once

a political suicide. Can the national government be guilty of this madness? What inducements, what temptations, can they have? Will they attach new honors to their station, will they increase the national strength, will they multiply the national resources, will they make themselves 5 more respectable in the view of foreign nations or of their fellow-citizens by robbing the States of their constitutional privileges? But imagine, for a moment, that a political frenzy should seize the government; suppose they should make the attempt; certainly, sir, it would be 10 forever impracticable. This has been sufficiently demonstrated by reason and experience. It has been proved that the members of republics have been and ever will be stronger than the head. Let us attend to one general historical example. In the ancient feudal governments of 15 Europe there were, in the first place, a monarch; subordinate to him a body of nobles; and subject to these, the vassals, or the whole body of the people. The authority of the kings was limited, and that of the barons considerably independent. A great part of the early wars in 20 Europe were contests between the king and his nobility. In these contests the latter possessed many advantages derived from their influence and the immediate command they had over the people, and they generally prevailed. The history of the feudal wars exhibits little more than a 25 series of successful encroachments on the prerogatives of monarchy. Here, sir, is one great proof of the superiority which the members in limited governments possess over their head. As long as the barons enjoyed the confidence and attachment of the people, they had the strength of 30 the country on their side, and were irresistible. I may be told that in some instances the barons were overcome; but how did this happen? Sir, they took advantage of the depression of the royal authority, and the establishment of their own power, to oppress and tyrannize over 35 their vassals. As commerce enlarged, and as wealth and

civilization increased, the people began to feel their own weight and consequence; they grew tired of their oppressions, united their strength with that of the prince, and threw off the yoke of aristocracy. These very instances
5 prove what I contend for. They prove that in whatever direction the popular weight leans, the current of power will flow; wherever the popular attachments lie, there will rest the political superiority. Sir, can it be supposed that the State governments will become the oppressors of
10 the people? Will they forfeit their affections? Will they combine to destroy the liberties and happiness of their fellow-citizens for the sole purpose of involving themselves in ruin? The idea, sir, is shocking! It outrages every feeling of humanity and every dictate of common sense.

15 There are certain social principles in human nature from which we may draw the most solid conclusions with respect to the conduct of individuals and communities. We love our families more than our neighbors, we love our neighbors more than our countrymen in general. The human
20 affections, like the solar heat, lose their intensity as they depart from the centre, and become languid in proportion to the expansion of the circle on which they act. On these principles the attachment of the individual will be first and forever secured by the State governments, they will
25 be a mutual protection and support. Another source of influence, which has already been pointed out, is the various official connections in the States. Gentlemen endeavor to evade the force of this by saying that these offices will be insignificant. This is by no means true. The State
30 officers will ever be important, because they are necessary and useful. Their powers are such as are extremely interesting to the people; such as affect their property, their liberty, and life. What is more important than the administration of justice and the execution of the civil and
35 criminal laws? Can the State governments become insignificant while they have the power of raising money

independently and without control? If they are really useful, if they are calculated to promote the essential interests of the people, they must have their confidence and support. The States can never lose their powers till the whole people of America are robbed of their liberties. 5 These must go together; they must support each other or meet one common fate. On the gentlemen's principle, we may safely trust the State governments, though we have no means of resisting them; but we cannot confide in the national government, though we have an effectual 10 constitutional guard against every encroachment. This is the essence of their argument, and it is false and fallacious beyond conception.

With regard to the jurisdiction of the two governments, I shall certainly admit that the constitution ought to be 15 so formed as not to prevent the States from providing for their own existence; and I maintain that it is so formed, and that their power of providing for themselves is sufficiently established. This is conceded by one gentleman, and in the next breath the concession is retracted. He 20 says Congress has but one exclusive right in taxation, — that of duties on imports; certainly, then, their other powers are only concurrent. But to take off the force of this obvious conclusion, he immediately says that the laws of the United States are supreme, and that where 25 there is one supreme there cannot be a concurrent authority; and further, that where the laws of the Union are supreme, those of the States must be subordinate, because there cannot be two supremes. This is curious sophistry. That two supreme powers cannot act together is false. 30 They are inconsistent only when they are aimed at each other, or at one indivisible object. The laws of the United States are supreme as to all their proper constitutional objects; the laws of the States are supreme in the same way. These supreme laws may act on different objects 35 without clashing, or they may operate on different parts

- of the same object, with perfect harmony. Suppose both governments should lay a tax of a penny on a certain article; has not each an independent and uncontrollable power to collect its own tax? The meaning of the maxim, *there cannot be two supremes*, is simply this: two powers cannot be supreme over each other. This meaning is entirely perverted by the gentlemen. But, it is said, disputes between collectors are to be referred to the federal courts. This is again wandering in the field of conjecture.
- 10 But suppose the fact certain; is it not to be presumed that they will express the true meaning of the constitution and the laws? Will they not be bound to consider this concurrent jurisdiction, to declare that both the taxes shall have equal operation, that both the powers, in that
- 15 respect, are sovereign and coextensive? If they transgress their duty, we are to hope that they will be punished. Sir, we can reason from probabilities alone. When we leave common sense and give ourselves up to conjecture, there can be no certainty, no security in our reasonings.
- 20 I imagine I have stated to the committee abundant reasons to prove the entire safety of the State governments and of the people. I would go into a more minute consideration of the nature of the concurrent jurisdiction and the operation of the laws in relation to revenue, but at
- 25 present I feel too much indisposed to proceed. I shall, with leave of the committee, improve another opportunity of expressing to them more fully my ideas on this point. I wish the committee to remember that the constitution under examination is framed upon truly republican prin-
- 30 ciples; and that, as it is expressly designed to provide for the common protection and the general welfare of the United States, it must be utterly repugnant to this constitution to subvert the State governments or oppress the people.

FAREWELL ADDRESS—COUNSEL ON
ALLIANCES °

BY GEORGE WASHINGTON. (SEPTEMBER, 1796)

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed ⁵ with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be ¹⁰ made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country: ¹⁵ and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is com- ²⁰ patible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your ²⁵ desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last ³⁰ election, had even led to the preparation of an address to

declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

5 I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances
10 of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have,
15 with good intentions, contributed toward the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still
20 more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have
25 given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended
30 to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported
35 me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faith-

ful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guaranty of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I

forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament
5 of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence,
10 the support of your tranquillity at home. your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices em-
15 ployed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that
20 you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium^o of your political
25 safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the
30 rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your
35 affections. The name of *AMERICAN*, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just

pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty ⁵ you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your ¹⁰ interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common gov- ¹⁵ ernment, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce ²⁰ expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime ²⁵ strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, ³⁰ or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, ³⁵ and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of

the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and
 5unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means
 10and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between
 15themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, like-
 20wise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered
 25as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic
 30desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for
 35the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experi-

ment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands. 5

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men 10 may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the 15 jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in 20 the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the 25 general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign 30 relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and 35 connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions
5 and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management
10 of your common concerns. This government, the off-spring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself
15 a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the
20 right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very
25 idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible
30 character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize
faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the
35 will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the al-

ternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of fashion, rather than the organs of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests. 5

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power 10 of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, 15 not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the prettexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, altera- 20 tions, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; 25 that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember 30 especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly dis- 35 tributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed,

little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continued mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the com-

munity with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of 5 party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within 10 certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural ten- 15 dency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its 20 bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their 25 respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. 30 A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, 35 and constituting each the guardian of the public weal

against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the
 5 opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the
 10 instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

15 Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of
 20 men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense
 25 of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds
 30 of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, in-
 35 deed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can

look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a

free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time
 5 and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by
 10 every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others,
 15 should be excluded, and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is
 20 sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.
 25 Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity,
 30 and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been
 35 the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for

another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, in-

stead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils

of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to

expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of
 5 an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may
 10 even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this
 15 hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct
 20 must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index of my
 25 plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best
 30 lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perse-
 35 verance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold

this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign

influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS °

BY THOMAS JEFFERSON. (MARCH 4, 1801)

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: Called upon to under-
 5 take the duties of the first executive office of our country,
 I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-
 citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful
 thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased
 to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that
 10 the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with
 those anxious and awful presentiments which the great-
 ness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly
 inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful
 land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of
 15 their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who
 feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies
 beyond the reach of mortal eye: when I contemplate these
 transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness,
 and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the
 20 issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the con-
 templation and humble myself before the magnitude of
 the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did
 not the presence of many whom I here see, remind me
 that in the other high authorities provided by our Con-
 25 stitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and
 of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you then,
 gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions
 of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with
 encouragement for that guidance and support, which may
 30 enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all
 embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled
 world.

During the contest of opinions through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write as they think. But this being now decided by the voice of the nation, enounced according to the rules of the constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law; and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle that, though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression.

Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. Let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecution.

During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonized spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and should divide opinion as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists. If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

I know, indeed, that some honest men have feared that

a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on
5 the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it is the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would
10 fly to the standard of the law; would meet invasions of public order as his own personal concern.

Sometimes, it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in
15 the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question. Let us, then, pursue with courage and confidence our own federal and republican principle, our attachment to union and representative government.

Kindly separated by nature, and a wide ocean, from the
20 exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe, too high-minded to endure the degradation of others; possessing a chosen country with room enough for all to the hundredth and thousandth generation; entertaining a dull sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the ac-
25 quisition of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temper-
30 ance, gratitude, and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and in his greater happiness hereafter. With all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy
35 and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens: a wise and frugal government which shall restrain

men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of this government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress 10 them in the narrowest limits they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations: Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the 15 support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government, in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at 20 home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of repub- 25 lics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; econ- 30 omy in public expense that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public 35 reason; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and

freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected.

These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of
 5 revolution and reformation: the wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from
 10 them in error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair then, fellow-citizens, to the post which you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate
 15 stations to know the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our
 20 first and greatest revolutionary character, whose preëminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and had destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal adminis-
 25 tration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment; when right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against
 30 the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts.

The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed
 35 it in advance to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the

happiness and freedom of all. Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

GETTYSBURG ADDRESS °

BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN. (NOVEMBER 19, 1863)

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain;

that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS °

BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN. (MARCH 4, 1865)

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearance to
 5 take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion
 for an extended address than there was at the first. Then
 a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued,
 seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four
 years, during which public declarations have been con-
 10 stantly called forth on every point and phase of the great
 contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses
 the energies of the nation, little that is new could be pre-
 sented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else
 chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to my-
 15 self; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and en-
 couraging to all. With high hope for the future, no pre-
 diction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all
 thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil
 20 war. All dreaded it — all sought to avert it. While the
 inaugural address was being delivered from this place, de-
 voted altogether to saving the Union without war, in-
 surgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it with-
 out war — seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide
 25 effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war;
 but one of them would make war rather than let the nation
 survive; and the other would accept war rather than let
 it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves,
 30 not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in
 the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar

and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. 5

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked 10 for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the 15 sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered — that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that of- 20 fenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the Providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he 25 gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this 30 mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, 35 as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be

said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let
 5 us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE°

BY JAMES MONROE. (DECEMBER 2, 1823)

10 A PRECISE knowledge of our relations with foreign powers as respects our negotiations and transactions with each is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it that we should form a just estimate of our resources, revenue, and progress in every kind of improvement con-
 15 nected with the national prosperity and public defense. It is by rendering justice to other nations that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to resent injuries and redress wrongs that we may avoid them. . . .

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government,
 20 made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this
 25 continent. A similar proposal had been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have
 30 invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with

his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . .

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation

is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion
 5 of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independences we have,
 10 on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition
 15 toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities
 20 of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should
 25 have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ
 30 from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to
 35 interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate govern-

ment for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously ⁵ different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is ¹⁰ equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. ¹⁵ It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT °

BY DANIEL WEBSTER. (JUNE 17, 1825)

THIS uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These ²⁰ thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our ²⁵ hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished ³⁰ by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their

blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings

and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly 5 proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without interest. We shall not 10 stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the 15 nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of 20 the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and 25 patriotic devotion.

The Society whose organ I am was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be 30 more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking, than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monu- 35 ment we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the

occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive
 5 solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions
 10 is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already
 15 been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no
 20 structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude
 25 to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principals of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the pur-
 30 pose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of
 35 national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it for ever. We rear a memorial

of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must for ever be dear to us 5 and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that 10 event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst 15 of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, 20 rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to 25 gladden him who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit. 30

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as 35 since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own Revolution,

which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved, twenty-four sovereign and independent States erected; and a general government established over them,
 5 so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not for the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve, the great forests
 10 of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies, which
 15 take no law from superior force; revenues, adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by
 20 a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been
 25 followed, and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole,
 30 is annihilated for ever.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit
 35 of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract

of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of 5 those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism. 10

VENERABLE MEN! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to 15 shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charles- 20 town. The ground strewn with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of 25 terror there may be in war and death; — all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with 30 unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and 35 seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoy-

ance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Reed, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

“another morn,
Risen on mid-noon;”

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

But, ah! Him! the first great martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit! Him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage! — how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! Our

poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism 5 and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit.

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this 10 consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton 15 and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to 20 an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude. 25

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, present themselves before you. The 30 scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give suc- 35 cor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory,

then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind!

The occasion does not require of me any particular
10 account of the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and
15 marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the
20 feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on
25 Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners de-
30 ceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was
35 seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial

interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are 5 deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might 10 be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immedi- 15 ate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. 20 The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common 25 sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers 30 which threatened it, it was declared, that this Colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of 35 these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood.

The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

5 “totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.”

War on their own soil and at their own doors was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their
10 country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plough was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of the civil
15 war. Death might come in honor, on the field; it might come in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. “Blandishments,” said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, “will not fascinate
20 us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined, that, wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever, we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.”

The 17th of June saw the four New England Colonies
25 standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them for ever, one cause, one country, one heart.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most
30 important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to

the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out, till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, 5 and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle 10 can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will for ever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies 15 had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they 20 beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe. 25

Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me. He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast. 30

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which sur- 35 round you and surround us, call on me to express the

happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of
5 your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriot-
10 ism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field,
15 the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-
20 stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McClary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you.
25 Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours for ever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of
30 this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate
35 companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant

to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. "*Serus in cælum redeas.*" Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, O, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or 5 any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the 10 present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our country only but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in 15 improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not 20 sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, 25 over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a 30 common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the world will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from 35 country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth,

and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the
 5 age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors
 10 or fellow-workers on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure;
 15 they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those
 20 articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still
 25 finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half-century in the polite and the mechanic
 30 arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This
 35 is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The

nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate 5 has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has ac- 10 tually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, 15 and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and 20 safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, 25 and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great 30 example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of 35 legislation had always been open to our Colonial assemblies.

They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our
5 countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of
10 property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishments; and we all know that it
15 could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well
20 intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master-work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been
25 altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to
30 be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as
35 it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses.

On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product. 5

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it. 15

When Louis the Fourteenth said, "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects, it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:—

"Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
Give me to SEE, — and Ajax asks no more."

We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers

ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm 5 it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half-century, we must 10 reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubt- 15 less, than attended our own revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of gov- 20 ernment, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provision for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. 25 They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful 30 part in the intercourse of nations.

A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the 35 highest and most essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "continent." Borne down by
5 colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its
10 lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

And now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country
15 has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs.

We are placed at the head of the system of representative
20 and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

25 We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that
30 with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular
35 governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experi-

ment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth. 5

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the 10 better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The principle of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains. 15

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to 20 that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. 25 But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us 30 advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let 35 us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pur-

suing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties.
 5 Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument,
 10 not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration for ever.

THE AMERICAN UNION °

BY DANIEL WEBSTER. (JANUARY 26, 1830)

I PROFESS, sir, in my career hitherto to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole
 15 country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. The Union we reached only by
 20 the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It has its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness
 25 of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a
 30 copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself 5 to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should mainly be bent on considering, not how the Union may be pre- 10 served, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant 15 that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious 20 Union — on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high 25 advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterward"; 30 but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart — Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one 35 and inseparable!

DEMOCRACY °

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. (1884)

FEW people take the trouble of trying to find out what democracy really is. Yet this would be a great help, for it is our lawless and uncertain thoughts, it is the indefiniteness of our impressions, that fill darkness, whether mental
5 or physical, with specters and hobgoblins. Democracy is nothing more than an experiment in government, more likely to succeed in a new soil, but likely to be tried in all soils, which must stand or fall on its own merits as others have done before it. For there is no trick of perpetual
10 motion in politics any more than in mechanics.

There is more rough and tumble in the American democracy than is altogether agreeable to people of sensitive nerves and refined habits, and the people take their political duties lightly and laughingly, as is, perhaps,
15 neither unnatural nor unbecoming in a young giant. Democracies can no more jump away from their own shadows than the rest of us can. They no doubt sometimes make mistakes and pay honor to men who do not deserve it. But they do this because they believe them
20 worthy of it, and though it be true that the idol is the measure of the worshipper, yet the worship has in it the germ of a nobler religion.

I take it that the real essence of democracy was fairly enough defined by the First Napoleon when he said that
25 the French Revolution meant "la carrière ouverte aux talents" — a clear pathway for merit of whatever kind. I should be inclined to paraphrase this by calling democracy that form of society, no matter what its political classification, in which every man had a chance and knew
30 that he had it. If a man can climb, and feels himself encouraged to climb, from a coalpit to the highest position for which he is fitted, he can well afford to be indifferent

what name is given to the government under which he lives.

All free governments, whatever their name, are in reality governments by public opinion, and it is on the quality of this public opinion that their prosperity depends. It is, therefore, their first duty to purify the element from which they draw the breath of life. With the growth of democracy grows also the fear, if not the danger, that this atmosphere may be corrupted with poisonous exhalations from lower and more malarious levels, and the question of sanitation becomes more instant and pressing. Democracy in its best sense is merely the letting in of light and air.

We have been compelled to see what was weak in democracy as well as what was strong. We have begun obscurely to recognize that things do not go of themselves, and that popular government is not in itself a panacea, is no better than any other form except as the virtue and wisdom of the people make it so, and that when men undertake to do their own kingship, they enter upon the dangers and responsibilities as well as the privileges of the function. Above all, it looks as if we were on the way to be persuaded that no government can be carried on by declamation.

WORKING OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY °

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT. (JUNE 28, 1888)

AN argument against democracy, which evidently had great weight with Sir Henry Maine, because he supposed it to rest upon the experience of mankind, is stated as follows: Progress and reformation have always been the work of the few, and have been opposed by the many; therefore democracies will be obstructive. This argument is completely refuted by the first century of the American

democracy, alike in the field of morals and jurisprudence, and in the field of manufactures and trade. Nowhere, for instance, has the great principle of religious toleration been so thoroughly put in practice as in the United States; 5 nowhere have such well-meant and persistent efforts been made to improve the legal status of women; nowhere has the conduct of hospitals, asylums, reformatories and prisons been more carefully studied; nowhere have legislative remedies for acknowledged abuses and evils 10 been more promptly and perseveringly sought. There was a certain plausibility in the idea that the multitude, who live by labor in established modes, would be opposed to inventions which would inevitably cause industrial revolutions, but American experience completely upsets 15 this notion. For promptness, in making physical forces and machinery do the work of men, the people of the United States surpass incontestably all other peoples. The people that invented and introduced with perfect commercial success the river steamboat, the cotton-gin, 20 the parlor-car and the sleeping car, the grain elevator, the street railway both surface and elevated, the telegraph, the telephone, the rapid printing-press, the cheap book and newspaper, the sewing-machine, the steam fire-engine, agricultural machinery, the pipe-lines for natural oil and 25 gas, and machine-made clothing, boots, furniture, tools, screws, wagons, fire-arms and watches, — this is not a people to vote down or hinder labor-saving invention or beneficent industrial revolution. The fact is that in a democracy the interests of the greater number will ultimately prevail, as they should. It was the stage drivers 30 and inn-keepers, not the multitude, who wished to suppress the locomotive; it is the publishers and the typographical unions, not the mass of the people, who wrongly imagine that they have an interest in making books dearer 35 than they need be. Furthermore, a just liberty of combination and perfect equality before the law, such as pre-

vail in a democracy, enable men or companies to engage freely in new undertakings at their own risk and bring them to triumphant success, if success be in them, whether the multitude approve them or not. The consent of the multitude is not necessary to the success of a printing press 5 which prints twenty thousand copies of a newspaper in an hour, or of a machine-cutter which cuts out twenty overcoats at one chop. In short, the notion that democracy will hinder religious, political, and social reformation and progress, or restrain commercial and industrial improvement, is a chimera. 10

FIVE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION °

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT. (AUGUST 19, 1896)

THESE five contributions to civilization — peacekeeping, religious toleration, the development of manhood suffrage, the welcoming of newcomers, and the diffusion of well-being — I hold to have been eminently characteristic of our country, and so important that, in spite of the qualifications and deductions which every candid citizen would admit with regard to every one of them, they will ever be held in the grateful remembrance of mankind. They are reasonable grounds for a steady, 20 glowing patriotism. They have had much to do, both as causes and as effects, with the material prosperity of the United States; but they are all five essentially moral contributions, being triumphs of reason, enterprise, courage, faith, and justice, over passion, selfishness, 25 inertness, timidity, and distrust. Beneath each one of these developments there lies a strong ethical sentiment, a strenuous moral and social purpose. It is for such work that multitudinous democracies are fit.

In regard to all five of these contributions, the charac- 30

teristic policy of our country has been from time to time threatened with reversal — is even now so threatened. It is for true patriots to insist on the maintenance of these historic purposes and policies of the people of the United States. Our country's future perils, whether already visible or still unimagined, are to be met with courage and constancy founded firmly on these popular achievements in the past.

DEMOCRACY °

BY HENRY VAN DYKE. (OCTOBER, 1905)

IN regard to this democratic method of electing rulers there are some things which I should like to say, with as much emphasis and clearness as may be consistent with brevity.

It is the highest and most reasonable method. In the case of ignorant, undeveloped peoples, with whom the impulse of resistance is stronger than the instinct of order, the other methods may be necessary. But they are to be considered as educative, corrective, disciplinary. All peoples, like all children, should be regarded as on their way to self-rule. When they are able to maintain it, they are entitled to have it. All arguments against the democratic method, based on the weakness, folly, and selfishness of human nature, apply with greater force to the autocratic and automatic methods. The individual follies of a multitude of men often neutralize one another, leaving an active residuum of plain common sense. But for a fool king there is no natural antidote; and sometimes men have sadly found that the only way to set his head straight was to remove it.

It is said that democracies are peculiarly subject to the microbes of financial delusion and the resultant boom-fever and panic-chill. But the Mississippi Scheme and the South Sea Bubble flourished under monarchical in-

stitutions; and the worst-depreciated currencies in the world have been stamped with the image and superscription of kings. . . .

It is said that democracies sometimes choose weak, incompetent, and even bad men for their ruling classes. 5 So they do. But they have no monopoly in this respect. The automatic method of selecting rulers produced Charles II and James II and George III. It would be difficult to surpass in any republic the folly which selected Lord North to guide the policy of Great Britain at a time 10 when Lord Chatham, Charles James Fox, and Edmund Burke were on the stage. Yet this was done, not by an ignorant democracy but by an automatic King. Nor does the autocratic plan of allowing rulers to choose themselves work any more infallibly. France had two ex- 15 amples of it in the last century. Napoleon I was a catastrophe. Napoleon III was a crime.

All that may be said of the propriety of appealing to Providence and trusting God for the ordaining of the powers that be, applies to the democratic method even 20 more than to any other. Why should we suppose that Providence has anything more to do with the ambition of a strong man to climb a throne, than with the desire of a great people to make a strong man their leader? Why should we imagine that God is any more willing to direct 25 the intricacies of royal marriages, and regulate the matrimonial alliances of titled personages, for the sake of producing proper kings and lords, than to guide the thoughts and desires of a great people and turn their hearts to the choice of good presidents? The characteristic of de- 30 mocracy, says James Russell Lowell, is its habit of "asking the Powers that Be, at the most inconvenient moment, whether they are the Powers that Ought to Be." And what is this question but an appeal to the divine judgment and law?

There is as much room for Providence to act in the

growth of public opinion as in the rise and propagation of a royal house. What royal house is there that goes so far to vindicate the ways of God to man as the succession of Presidents chosen by the people of the American Republic? Some of the choices have not been brilliant, a few have been unfortunate, none has been evil or corrupt. There is no line of hereditary kings, no line of autocratic emperors that claims as many great men, or half as many good men, in an equal period of time, as the line of Presidents of the United States.

There is warrant, then, in reason and in experience, for believing in the divine right of democracy. It is not the only righteous and lawful method of selecting rulers, but it is the highest and most reasonable. We lift our patriotism above the shallow and flashy enthusiasm for institutions merely because they are ours. We confide ourselves to the hopeful and progressive view of human nature, to the faith that God is able to make truth and right reason prevail in the arena of public opinion. We bless the memory of our first and greatest hero because he had no desire for a crown, and so, by his personal influence, helped to make the choice of ruling classes in the United States neither autocratic nor automatic, but democratic.

THE HOME AS A NATION BUILDER

BY HENRY VAN DYKE. (OCTOBER, 1905)

THE causes which control the development of national character are threefold: domestic, political, and religious; the home, the state, and the church.

The home comes first because it is the seed-plot and nursery of virtue. A noble nation of ignoble households is impossible. Our greatest peril to-day is in the decline of domestic morality, discipline, and piety. The degradation of the poor by overcrowding in great tenements,

the enervation of the rich by seclusion in luxurious palaces, threaten the purity and vigor of the old-fashioned American family. If it vanishes, nothing can take its place. Show me a home where the tone of life is selfish, disorderly, or trivial, jaundiced by avarice, frivolized by 5 fashion, or poisoned by moral scepticism; where success is worshiped and righteousness ignored; where there are two consciences, one for private and one for public use; where the boys are permitted to believe that religion has nothing to do with citizenship and that their object must 10 be to get as much as possible from the state and to do as little as possible for it; where the girls are suffered to think that because they have no votes they have therefore no duties to the commonwealth, and that the crowning glory of an American woman's life is to marry a 15 foreigner with a title — show me such a home, and I will show you a breeding-place of enemies of the Republic.

To the hands of women the ordinance of nature has committed the trust of training men for their country's service. A great general like Napoleon may be produced 20 in a military school. A great diplomatist like Metternich may be developed in a court. A great philosopher like Hegel may be evolved in a university. But a great man like Washington can come only from a pure and noble home. The greatness, indeed, parental love cannot be- 25 stow; but the manliness is often a mother's gift. Teach your sons to respect themselves without asserting themselves. Teach them to think sound and wholesome thoughts, free from prejudice and passion. Teach them 30 to speak the truth, even about their own party, and to pay their debts in the same money in which they were contracted, and to prefer poverty to dishonor. Teach them to worship God by doing some useful work, to live honestly and cheerfully in such a station as they are fit to fill, and to love their country with an unselfish and up- 35 lifting love. Then they may not all be Washingtons,

but they will be such men as will choose a Washington to be their ruler and leader in

“The path of duty and the way to glory.”

And in the conflict between corporate capital and organized labor, if come it must, they will stand fast as the soldiers, not of labor nor of capital, but of that which is infinitely above them both — the commonwealth of law and order and freedom.

EDUCATION IN A REPUBLIC

BY HENRY VAN DYKE. (OCTOBER, 1905)

A TEACHER should give his pupils rules in such a form
 10 that they can use them to work out their own problems. He should instruct them in languages so that words may serve to express clearly and accurately their own thoughts. He should teach them science in order that they may form habits of accurate observation, careful induction,
 15 and moderate statement of laws which are not yet fully understood. And if his instruction goes on to philosophy, history, literature, jurisprudence, government, his aim should be to give his pupils some standards by which they can estimate the works and ways, the promises and proposals of men to-day. Pupils thus educated will come
 20 out into the world prepared to take a real part in its life. They will be able to form an opinion without waiting for an editorial in their favorite newspaper. They will not need to borrow another man's spectacles before they can
 25 trust their eyes.

“My mind to me a kingdom is,”

wrote the quaint old courtly poet, Sir Edward Dyer. But how many there are, in all classes of society, who have no right to use his words. Discrowned monarchs,

exiled and landless, desolate and impotent, wearied with trivial cares and dull amusements, enslaved to masters whom they despise and tasks which promise much and pay little — what possession is there that they can call their own, what moment of time in which they are not at the beck and call of other men, either grinding stolidly at their round in the treadmill or dancing idiotically to the uncomprehended music of some stranger's pipe? We often say of one whom we wish to blame slightly and to half excuse, "He is only thoughtless." But there is no deeper word of censure and reproach in human speech, for it signifies one who has renounced a rightful dominion and despised a kingly diadem.

The great dream of education as a loyalist of the democracy is that "the king shall have his own again" — that no prince or princess of the blood royal of humanity shall be self-exiled in the desert of thoughtlessness or chained in the slavery of ignorance. A lofty dream, a distant dream, it may be, but the only way toward its fulfillment lies through the awakening of the reason. Not to leave the people in a dull servitude of groping instincts, while the chosen few look down on them from the cold heights of philosophy; but to diffuse through all the ranks of society an ever-increasing light of quiet, steady thought on the meaning and the laws of life — that is the democratic ideal. Slowly or swiftly we may work toward it, but only along that line will the people win their heritage and keep it: the power of self-rule, through self-knowledge, for the good of all.

THE WILL TO FREEDOM AND DUTY

BY HENRY VAN DYKE. (OCTOBER, 1905)

ONE more factor is included in the creative ideal of education, and that is its effect upon the will. The power

to see clearly, to imagine vividly, to think independently, will certainly be wasted, will be shut up in the individual and kept for his own selfish delight, unless the power to will nobly comes to call the man into action and
 5 gives him, with all his education, to the service of the world.

An educated man is helpless until he is emancipated. An emancipated man is aimless until he is consecrated. Consecration is simply concentration, -plus a sense of
 10 duty.

The final result of true education is not a selfish scholar, nor a scornful critic of the universe, but an intelligent and faithful citizen who is determined to put all his powers at the service of his country and mankind.

15 What part are our colleges and universities to play in the realizing of this ideal of creative education? Their true function is not exclusive, but inclusive. They are to hold this standard of manhood steadily before them, and recognize its supreme and universal value wherever
 20 it is found.

Some of the most thoughtful men in the country have not been college-bred. The university that assumes to look down on these men is false to its own ideal. It should honor them, and learn from them whatever they
 25 have to teach. College education is not to be separated from the educative work which pervades the whole social organism. What we need at present is not new colleges with a power of conferring degrees, but more power in the existing colleges to make men. To this end let them have
 30 a richer endowment, a fuller equipment, but, above all, a revival of the creative ideal. And let everything be done to bring together the high school, the normal school, the grammar school, the primary school, and the little-red-schoolhouse school, in the harmony of this ideal.
 35 The university shall still stand in the place of honor, if you will, but only because it bears the clearest and most

steadfast witness that the end of education is to create men who can see clearly, imagine vividly, think steadily, and will nobly.

TRUE AMERICANISM

BY HENRY VAN DYKE. (SEPTEMBER, 1906)

WASHINGTON knew that the Boston maltster, and the Pennsylvania printer, and the Rhode Island anchor-smith, ⁵ and the New Jersey preacher, and the New York lawyer, and the men who stood with him were Americans.

He knew it, I say and by what divination? By a test more searching than any mere peculiarity of manners, dress, or speech; by a touchstone able to divide the gold ¹⁰ of essential character from the alloy of superficial characteristics; by a standard which disregarded alike Franklin's fur cap and Putnam's old felt hat, Morgan's leather leggings and Witherspoon's black silk gown and John Adams's lace ruffles, to recognize and approve, beneath ¹⁵ these various garbs, the vital sign of America woven into the very souls of the men who belonged to her by a spiritual birthright.

For what is true Americanism, and where does it reside? Not on the tongue, nor in the clothes, nor among the ²⁰ transient social forms, refined or rude, which mottle the surface of human life. The log cabin has no monopoly of it, nor is it an immovable fixture of the stately pillared mansion. Its home is not on the frontier nor in the populous city, not among the trees of the wild forest nor ²⁵ the cultured groves of academe. Its dwelling is in the heart. It speaks a score of dialects but one language, follows a hundred paths to the same goal, performs a thousand kinds of service in loyalty to the same ideal which is its life. True Americanism is this: ³⁰

To believe that the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are given by God.

To believe that any form of power that tramples on these rights is unjust.

To believe that taxation without representation is tyranny, that government must rest upon the consent of the governed,
5 and that the people should choose their own ruler.

To believe not in a forced equality of conditions and estates, but in a true equalization of burdens, privileges, and opportunities.

To believe that the selfish interests of persons, classes,
10 and sections must be subordinated to the welfare of the commonwealth.

To believe that union is as much a human necessity as liberty is a divine gift.

To believe, not that all people are good, but that the
15 way to make them better is to trust the whole people.

To believe that a free state should offer an asylum to the oppressed, and an example of virtue, sobriety, and fair dealing to all nations.

To believe that for the existence and perpetuity of such
20 a state a man should be willing to give his whole service, in property, in labor, and in life.

That is Americanism; an ideal embodying itself in a people; a creed heated white hot in the furnace of conviction and hammered into shape on the anvil of life;
25 a vision commanding men to follow it whithersoever it may lead them. And it was the subordination of the personal self to that ideal, that creed, that vision, which gave eminence and glory to Washington and the men who stood with him.

THE ARISTOCRACY OF SERVICE

BY HENRY VAN DYKE. (SEPTEMBER, 1906)

30 WE believe that the liberties which the heroes of old won with blood and sacrifice are ours to keep with labor and service.

“All that our fathers wrought
 With true prophetic thought,
 Must be defended.”

No privilege that encroaches upon those liberties is to be endured. No lawless disorder that imperils them is to be sanctioned. No class that disregards or invades them is to be tolerated.

There is a life that is worth living now, as it was worth living in the former days, and that is the honest life, the useful life, the unselfish life, cleansed by devotion to an ideal. There is a battle that is worth fighting now, as it was worth fighting then, and that is the battle for justice and equality. To make our city and our State free in fact as well as in name; to break the rings that strangle real liberty, and to keep them broken; to cleanse, so far as in our power lies, the fountains of our national life from political, commercial, and social corruption; to teach our sons and daughters, by precept and example, the honor of serving such a country as America — that is work worthy of the finest manhood and womanhood. The well born are those who are born to do that work. The well bred are those who are bred to be proud of that work. The well educated are those who see deepest into the meaning and the necessity of that work. Nor shall their labor be for naught, nor the reward of their sacrifice fail them. For high in the firmament of human destiny are set the stars of faith in mankind, and unselfish courage, and loyalty to the ideal; and while they shine, the Americanism of Washington and the men who stood with him shall never, never die.

THE TYPICAL AMERICAN °

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (1908)

THE typical American is he who, whether rich or poor, whether dwelling in the North, South, East, or West,

whether scholar, professional man, merchant, manufacturer, farmer, or skilled worker for wages, lives the life of a good citizen and a good neighbor; who believes loyally and with all his heart in his country's institutions, and in
 5 the underlying principles on which these institutions are built; who directs both his private and his public life by sound principles; who cherishes high ideals; and who aims to train his children for a useful life and for their country's service.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP°

BY GROVER CLEVELAND. (1908)

10 OUR country is infinitely more than a domain affording to those who dwell upon it immense material advantages and opportunities. In such a country we live. But I love to think of a glorious nation built upon the will of free men, set apart for the propagation and cultivation of
 15 humanity's best ideal of a free government, and made ready for the growth and fruitage of the highest aspirations of patriotism. This is the country that lives in us. I indulge in no mere figure of speech when I say that our nation, the immortal spirit of our domain, lives in us —
 20 in our hearts and minds and consciences. There it must find its nutriment or die. This thought more than any other presents to our minds the impressiveness and responsibility of American citizenship. The land we live in seems to be strong and active. But how fares the land
 25 that lives in us? Are we sure that we are doing all we ought to keep it in vigor and health? Are we keeping its roots well surrounded by the fertile soil of loving allegiance, and are we furnishing them the invigorating moisture of unselfish fidelity? Are we as diligent as we
 30 ought to be to protect this precious growth against the poison that must arise from the decay of harmony and

honesty and industry and frugality ; and are we sufficiently watchful against the deadly, burrowing pests of consuming greed and cankerous cupidity? Our answers to these questions make up the account of our stewardship as keepers of a sacred trust.

5

THE ATTITUDE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT °

BY CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. ° (1910)

THE responsibilities of citizenship must not be regarded as limited to voting, to the use of electoral machinery, or to participation in political campaigns. Those are simply methods to secure the expression of public opinion which is the final authority. Opportunity and the re-¹⁰ sponsibility which it measures, with respect to citizenship, are to be determined not merely by particular political rights, but by one's relation to the ultimate power which upholds or changes constitutions, makes laws, fixes the quality of administration and assures or prevents¹⁵ progress. . . .

The responsibilities of citizenship, then, embrace all those acts or possible acts, all those habits or attitudes, which express the totality of one's possible contributions to the formation of public opinion and to the maintenance²⁰ of proper standards of civic conduct. Power and responsibility are to be judged not by the single vote, but by the indefinable influence radiating from personality, varying with moral perception, knowledge, acumen, experience, and environment, and capable of being lessened²⁵ or increased, as one shrinks his individuality or expands his life and throws his full weight as a growing man of noble purpose into the civic scale. . . .

Progress is not a blessing conferred from without. It merely expresses the gains of individual efforts in coun-³⁰

teracting the sinister and corrupting influences which, if successful, would make democratic institutions impossible. Gratifying as is the vast extent and variety of our accomplishment, one cannot be insensible to the dangers to which we are exposed. No greater mistake can be made than to think that our institutions are fixed or may not be changed for the worse. We are a young nation and nothing can be taken for granted. If our institutions are maintained in their integrity, and if
 10 change shall mean improvement, it will be because the intelligent and the worthy constantly generate the motive power which, distributed over a thousand lines of communication, develops that appreciation of the standards of decency and justice which we have delighted to call the
 15 common sense of the American people.

Increasing prosperity tends to breed indifference and to corrupt moral soundness. Glaring inequalities in condition create discontent and strain the democratic relation. The vicious are the willing, and the ignorant
 20 are the unconscious instruments of political artifice. Selfishness and demagoguery take advantage of liberty. The selfish hand constantly seeks to control government, and every increase of governmental power, even to meet just needs, furnishes opportunity for abuse and stimu-
 25 lates the effort to bend it to improper uses. Free speech voices the appeals of hate and envy as well as those of justice and charity. A free press is made the instrument of cunning, greed, and ambition, as well as the agency of enlightened and independent opinion. How shall we
 30 preserve the supremacy of virtue and the soundness of the common judgment? How shall we buttress Democracy? The peril of this Nation is not in any foreign foe! We, the people, are its power, its peril, and its hope! . . .

35 I do not refer to the conventional attitude commonly assumed in American utterances and always taken on

patriotic occasions. I mean the sincere love of Democracy. . . .

But a larger sympathy and appreciation are needed. The young man who goes out into life favorably disposed toward those who have had much the same environment 5 and opportunity may still be lacking in the broader sympathy which should embrace all his fellow-countrymen. He may be tolerant and democratic with respect to those who, despite differences in birth and fortune, he may regard as kindred spirits, and yet in his relation to 10 men at large, to the great majority of his fellow beings, be little better than a snob. Or despite the camaraderie of college intercourse he may have developed a cynical disposition or an intellectual aloofness which, while not marked enough to interfere with success in many voca- 15 tions, or to disturb his conventional relations, largely disqualifies him from aiding his community as a public-spirited citizen. The primary object of education is to emancipate; to free from superstition, from the tyranny of worn-out notions, from the prejudices, large and small, 20 which enslave the judgment. His study of history and of the institutions of his country has been to little purpose if the college man has not caught the vision of Democracy and has not been joined by the troth of heart and conscience to the great human brotherhood which is working 25 out its destiny in this land of opportunity.

The true citizen will endeavor to understand the different racial viewpoints of the various elements which enter into our population. He will seek to divest himself of antipathy or prejudice toward any of those who have 30 come to us from foreign lands, and he will try, by happy illustration in his own conduct, to hasten appreciation of the American ideal. For him "American" will ever be a word of the spirit and not of the flesh. Difference in custom or religion will not be permitted to obscure the 35 common human worth, nor will bigotry of creed or rela-

tion prevent a just appraisement. The pitiful revelations of ignorance and squalor, of waste and folly, will not sap his faith. He will patiently seek truly to know himself and others, and with fraternal insight to enter into
 5 the world's work, to share the joys of accomplishment, and to help in the bearing of the burdens of misery. He will be free from the prejudice of occupation or of residence. He will not look askance either at city or at country. For him any honest work will be honorable, and those
 10 who are toiling with their hands will not be merely economic factors of work, but human beings of like passions and possessed of the "certain unalienable rights." Neither birth nor station, neither circumstance nor vocation, will win or prevent the esteem to which fidelity, honesty, and
 15 sincerity are alone entitled. He will look neither up nor down, but with even eye will seek to read the hearts of men. . . .

The lover of democracy will have no desire to see the tyranny of despots replaced by the tyranny of a majority
 20 taking unto itself the conduct of individual life and the destruction of its hope. He knows that no community can be free if its members are deprived of liberty. But he also knows that he will utterly fail to find the sure basis for his liberty, under our social conditions, in his inde-
 25 pendent action, and that this foundation must be secured by intelligent coöperation. To save society from overreaching and impoverishing itself by arbitrary interference and at the same time to uphold the public right as supreme, to secure the benefits of collective effort while wisely safe-
 30 guarding individual opportunity and initiative, is the patriotic and difficult task which should enlist the best thought and unselfish endeavor of every citizen who appreciates the advantages and the dangers of the Republic. . . .

35 The citizen should contribute something more than sympathy with democracy, something more than respect

for individual and community interests, something more than adherence to the standards of fair dealing. Sympathy and sentiment will fail of practical effect without independence of character. A man owes it to himself so to conduct his life that it be recognized that his assent 5 cannot be expected until he has been convinced. He should exhibit that spirit of self-reliance, that sense of individual responsibility in forming and stating opinion, which proclaims that he is a man and not a marionette. . . .

The normal man naturally tends to work with others; 10 to him the sentiment of loyalty makes a powerful appeal. And the counsel that is most needed is that men in the necessary action of groups should not lose their individual power for good by blind following. The man who would meet the responsibilities of citizenship must determine 15 that he will endeavor justly, after availing himself of all the privileges which contact and study afford, to reach a conclusion which for him is a true conclusion, and that the action of his group shall if possible not be taken until, according to his opportunity and his range of influence, his 20 point of view has been presented and considered. . . .

The first lesson for a young man who faces the world with his career in his own hands is that he must be willing to do without. The question for him at the start and ever after must be not simply what he wants to get, but 25 what he is willing to lose. "Whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it," is the profoundest lesson of philosophy. No one can fight as a good soldier the battles of democracy who is constantly seeking cover. . . .

Whether you like it or not, the majority will rule. 30 Accept loyally the democratic principle. The voice of the majority is that neither of God nor of devil, but of men. Do not be abashed to be found with the minority, but on the other hand do not affect superiority or make the absurd mistake of thinking you are right or entitled to 35 special credit merely because you do not agree with the

common judgment. Your experience of life cannot fail to impress you with the soundness of that judgment in the long run, and I believe you will come to put your trust, as I do, in the common sense of the people of this country, and in the verdicts they give after the discussions of press, of platform and of ordinary intercourse. The dangers of the overthrow of reason and of the reign of passion and prejudice become serious only as resentment is kindled by abuses for which those who have no sympathy with popular government and constantly decry what they call "mob rule" are largely responsible. But whether the common judgment shall exhibit that intelligence and self-restraint which have given to our system of government so large a degree of success, will depend upon your attitude and that of the young men of the country who will determine the measure of capacity for self-government and progress in the coming years.

Prize your birthright and let your attitude toward all public questions be characterized by such sincere democratic sympathy, such enthusiasm for the common weal, such genuine love of justice, and such force of character, that your life to the full extent of your talent and opportunity shall contribute to the reality, the security, and the beneficence of government by the people.

THE SPIRIT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT °

BY ELIHU ROOT. (1912)

My friends, the noise and excitement of a great presidential campaign is over; the stress and strain, the over-statements, the warping of judgment by personal considerations and by old associations, have passed into memory, and we are all at rest; and during this period of rest, which in this active and vigorous and progressive country must be but short, it seems to be a good time for national introspection.

I have been thinking whether passing beyond and behind all the issues that we have been discussing, we can answer in the affirmative or the negative a crucial question, underlying them all, and that is this: Are we advancing in our capacity for self-government? Are we maintaining our capacity for self-government?

All the rest is unimportant compared with that. If we have the spirit of a true self-governing people, whichever way we decide the questions of the moment, we come through right. Whatever we do about the tariff, or about the trusts, or about the railroads, or about wages, or about corporations, or whatever we do about any of the issues before the American people, if we have at heart the true spirit of a free governing democracy, we come through right. What is it? What is the spirit of a free self-governing democracy? What are its essentials, and have we them to a greater or a less degree? What is the tendency, is it up or down?

Of course a people to be self-governing must have independence of character and courage; that we know we have. Throughout the length and breadth of our land the Americans have an attitude in which one recognizes no social or political superior, in which every man knows himself to be a man of equal manhood with all others and has the courage to speak his opinions and to maintain them; and we thank God for that.

But that is not enough; that is not all. All histories of wild and savage people, all the histories of lawless and undisciplined men, all the histories of civil wars and revolutions, all the histories of discord and strife which check the onward march of civilization and hold a people stationary until they go down instead of going up, admonish us that it is not enough to be independent and courageous.

Self-governing people must have the spirit which makes them self-controlled, which makes every man competent and willing to govern his impulses by the rule of declared

principle. And more than that, men in a self-governed democracy must have a love of liberty that means not merely one's own liberty but others' liberty. We must respect the opinions and the liberty of the opinions of our
5 countrymen. That spirit excludes hatred of our opponents. That spirit excludes a desire to abuse, to villify, to destroy. All of us in foreign lands have felt the blood rush to the head, and felt the heart beat quicker, felt a suffusion of feeling upon seeing our country's flag floating
10 in strange ports and in distant cities. That, my friends, is but a false sentiment, unless it carries with it a love not only for the flag but for the countrymen under the flag. True love of country is not an abstraction. It means a little different feeling toward every American because he
15 is American. It means a desire that every American shall be prosperous; it means kindly consideration for his opinions, for his views, for his interests, for his prejudices, and charity for his follies and his errors. The man who loves his country only that he may be free does not love
20 his country. He loves only himself and his own way and that is not self-government, but is the essence of despotism.

Now as to that feeling I will not say that we have gone backward, but I will say, that there is serious cause for
25 reflection on the part of all Americans.

Our life has become so complicated, the activities of our country so numerous and so vast, that it is very difficult for us to understand what our countrymen are doing. The cotton planters understand each other, the
30 wheat farmers understand each other, the importers understand each other, the bankers understand each other, but there are vast masses of the people of our country who totally misunderstand others of our people, and that misunderstanding is counter to the spirit which
35 I have attempted to describe as so necessary to real self-government.

Misunderstanding! and when I say misunderstanding it implies erroneous ideas; for there are hundreds of thousands of people, outside the great industrial communities, who think you are a den of thieves, and there are hundreds of thousands of people who think that the 5 manufacturers of the country are not better than a set of confidence men. Why, we have before us now great and serious questions regarding the financial problems of the country, and this is what stands in the way of their solution: It is that the men who understand the finances 10 of the country, the bankers, and the merchants engaged in great operations, are under suspicion. Great bodies of people will not accept what they say regarding the subject of finance, a subject complicated by all the currents and movements of finance throughout the world; they will 15 not accept what the experts say, what the men who understand the subject say, because they do not believe their motives are honest. So that the only one who can be heard is the man who does not understand the subject. How are we to reach any conclusion in that way? On 20 the other hand, there are many in this room to-night who way down in their hearts believe that great bodies of the American people really want to destroy their business and confiscate their property, that they are enemies to the men who are carrying on the vast business essential 25 to our prosperity.

Now, neither is true. One misunderstanding leads to conduct which in some respects seems to justify another misunderstanding. Nobody in this country wants to destroy business, wants to destroy prosperity. I say 30 nobody. Of course, there are always hangers-on in every country who would like to destroy everything in the hope of picking up the pieces. But speaking of the great body of the people, they do not want to destroy prosperity; and when they do things, when they vote 35 for measures, when they elect representatives, leading

you to think that they want to destroy prosperity, it is because they misunderstand you, and you misunderstand them.

There is nothing more important to-day, than that, by
 5 education and the spread of ideas, such misunderstanding shall be disposed of and done away with, and that all Americans shall come to the spirit of popular government in which every American desires the prosperity and the happiness of every other American, every American
 10 naturally feels a trust in all Americans, because they are all his brothers, fellow-inheritors of the great system of constitutional law for the preservation of liberty and justice, of the same great traditions, the same noble ideals of human freedom and human opportunity.

15 There is one other essential to the spirit of self-government, and that is justice. The manufacturer, the employer of labor, who is unwilling to be just to his workmen is false to the ideals of his country. The laborer who, in the comparatively new found power of organization, is unjust to his employer is false to those great
 20 traditions in which rests the liberty of all labor.

The willingness to do justice in a nation to every brother of our common land is the ideal of self-government. Further than that, the willingness to do justice as a
 25 nation is the true conception of self-government. That rude and bumptious willingness to insult and deride, the result of ignorance, is wholly false to the true dignity and the true spirit of popular self-government. . . .

The spirit of a people is everything, the decision of a
 30 particular question is nothing, if we are honest and honorable. If we are lovers of liberty and justice, if we are willing to do, as a nation, what we feel bound to do as individuals in our communities, then all the questions we have been discussing will be solved right, and for count-
 35 less generations to come, Americans will still be brothers, as they were in the days of old, leading the world toward

happier lives and nobler manhood, toward the realization of the dreams of philosophers and the prophets, for a better and nobler world.

THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO RULE°

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT. (1912)

I PREFER to work with moderate, with rational, conservatives, provided only that they do in good faith strive 5 forward towards the light. But when they halt and turn their backs to the light, and sit with the scorners on the seats of reaction, then I must part company with them. We the people cannot turn back. Our aim must be steady, wise progress. It would be well if our people 10 would study the history of a sister republic. All the woes of France for a century and a quarter have been due to the folly of her people in splitting into the two camps of unreasonable conservatism and unreasonable radicalism. Had pre-Revolutionary France listened to men like 15 Turgot, and backed them up, all would have gone well. But the beneficiaries of privilege, the Bourbon reactionaries, the short-sighted ultra-conservatives, turned down Turgot; and then found that instead of him they had obtained Robespierre. They gained twenty years' free- 20 dom from all restraint and reform, at the cost of the whirlwind of the red terror; and in their turn the unbridled extremists of the terror induced a blind reaction; and so, with convulsion and oscillation from one extreme to another, with alternations of violent radicalism and 25 violent Bourbonism, the French people went through misery towards a shattered goal. May we profit by the experiences of our brother republicans across the water, and go forward steadily, avoiding all wild extremes; and may our ultra-conservatives remember that the rule 30 of the Bourbons brought on the Revolution, and may our

would-be revolutionaries remember that no Bourbon was ever such a dangerous enemy of the people and of freedom as the professed friend of both, Robespierre. There is no danger of a revolution in this country; but there is
 5 grave discontent and unrest, and in order to remove them there is need of all the wisdom and probity and deep-seated faith in and purpose to uplift humanity, we have at our command.

Friends, our task as Americans is to strive for social
 10 and industrial justice, achieved through the genuine rule of the people. This is our end, our purpose. The methods for achieving the end are merely expedients, to be finally accepted or rejected according as actual experience shows that they work well or ill. But in our hearts we must
 15 have this lofty purpose, and we must strive for it in all earnestness and sincerity, or our work will come to nothing. In order to succeed we need leaders of inspired idealism, leaders to whom are granted great visions, who dream greatly and strive to make their dreams come true;
 20 who can kindle the people with the fire from their own burning souls. The leader for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument, to be used until broken and then to be cast aside; and if he is worth his salt he will care no more when he is broken than a soldier cares
 25 when he is sent where his life is forfeit in order that the victory may be won. In the long fight for righteousness the watch-word for all of us is spend and be spent. It is of little matter whether any one man fails or succeeds; but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind.
 30 We, here in America, hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years; and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men. If on this new continent we merely build another country
 35 of great but unjustly divided material prosperity, we shall have done nothing; and we shall do as little if we merely

set the greed of envy against the greed of arrogance, and thereby destroy the material well-being of all of us. To turn this Government either into government by a plutocracy or government by a mob would be to repeat on a larger scale the lamentable failures of the world that is 5 dead. We stand against all tyranny, by the few or by the many. We stand for the rule of the many in the interest of all of us, for the rule of the many in a spirit of courage, of common sense, of high purpose, above all in a spirit of kindly justice towards every man and every 10 woman. We not merely admit, but insist, that there must be self-control on the part of the people, that they must keenly perceive their own duties as well as the rights of others; but we also insist that the people can do nothing unless they not merely have, but exercise to the full 15 their own rights. The worth of our great experiment depends upon its being in good faith an experiment — the first that has ever been tried — in true democracy on the scale of a continent, on a scale as vast as that of the mightiest empires of the Old World. Surely this is a 20 noble ideal, an ideal for which it is worth while to strive, an ideal for which at need it is worth while to sacrifice much; for our ideal is the rule of all the people in a spirit of friendliest brotherhood towards each and every one of the people.

25

THE INTERNATIONAL MIND °

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (1912)

THE international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and coöperating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in develop- 30 ing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.

POLITICAL ROUTINEER AND INVENTOR°

BY WALTER LIPPMANN. (1913)

FOR while statesmen are pottering along doing the same thing year in, year out, putting up the tariff one year and down the next, passing appropriation bills and recodifying laws, the real forces in the country do not stand still. 5 Vast changes, economic and psychological, take place, and these changes demand new guidance. But the routineers are always unprepared. It has become one of the grim trade jokes of innovators that the one thing you can count upon is that the rulers will come to think 10 that they are the apex of human development. For a queer effect of responsibility on men is that it makes them try to be as much like machines as possible. All government becomes rigid when it is too successful, and only defeat seems to give it new life. Success makes men 15 rigid and they tend to exalt stability over all the other virtues; tired of the effort of willing they become fanatics about conservatism.

But conditions change whether statesmen wish them to or not; society must have new institutions to fit new 20 wants, and all that rigid conservatism can do is to make the transitions difficult. Violent revolutions may be charged up to the unreadiness of statesmen. It is because they will not see, or cannot see, that feudalism is dead, that chattel slavery is antiquated; it is because they 25 have not the wisdom and the audacity to anticipate these great social changes; it is because they insist upon standing pat that we have French Revolutions and Civil Wars. . . .

We need a new sense of political values. These times 30 require a different order of thinking. We cannot expect to meet our problems with a few inherited ideas, uncriticised assumptions, a foggy vocabulary, and a machine

philosophy. Our political thinking needs the infusion of contemporary insights. The enormous vitality that is regenerating other interests can be brought into the service of politics. Our primary care must be to keep the habits of the mind flexible and adapted to the movement of real life. The only way to control our destiny is to work with it. In politics, at least, we stoop to conquer. There is no use, no heroism, in butting against the inevitable, yet nothing is entirely inevitable. There is always some opportunity for human direction. 10

THE MEANING OF THE FLAG °

BY WOODROW WILSON. (JUNE, 1915)

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: I know of nothing more difficult than to render an adequate tribute to the emblem of our nation. For those of us who have shared that nation's life and felt the beat of its pulse it must be considered a matter of impossibility to express the great 15 things which that emblem embodies. I venture to say that a great many things are said about the flag which very few people stop to analyze. For me the flag does not express a mere body of vague sentiment. The flag of the United States has not been created by rhetorical 20 sentences in declarations of independence and in bills of rights. It has been created by the experience of a great people, and nothing is written upon it that has not been written by their life. It is the embodiment, not of a sentiment, but of a history, and no man can rightly serve 25 under that flag who has not caught some of the meaning of that history.

Experience, ladies and gentlemen, is made by men and women. National experience is the product of those who do the living under that flag. It is their living that has 30 created its significance. You do not create the meaning

of a national life by any literary exposition of it, but by the actual daily endeavors of a great people to do the tasks of the day and live up to the ideals of honesty and righteousness and just conduct. And as we think of these things, our tribute is to those men who have created this experience. Many of them are known by name to all the world — statesmen, soldiers, merchants, masters of industry, men of letters and of thought who have coined our hearts into action or into words. Of these men we feel that they have shown us the way. They have not been afraid to go before. They have known that they were speaking the thoughts of a great people when they led that great people along the paths of achievement. There was not a single swashbuckler among them. They were men of sober, quiet thought, the more effective because there was no bluster in it. They were men who thought along the lines of duty, not along the lines of self-aggrandizement. They were men, in short, who thought of the people whom they served and not of themselves.

But while we think of these men and do honor to them as to those who have shown us the way, let us not forget that the real experience and life of a nation lies with the great multitude of unknown men. It lies with those men whose names are never in the headlines of newspapers, those men who know the heat and pain and desperate loss of hope that sometimes comes in the great struggle of daily life; not the men who stand on the side and comment, not the men who merely try to interpret the great struggle, but the men who are engaged in the struggle. They constitute the body of the nation. This flag is the essence of their daily endeavors. This flag does not express any more than what they are and what they desire to be.

As I think of the life of this great nation it seems to me that we sometimes look to the wrong places for its sources. We look to the noisy places, where men are talking in the

market place; we look to where men are expressing their individual opinions; we look to where partisans are expressing passions; instead of trying to attune our ears to that voiceless mass of men who merely go about their daily tasks, try to be honorable, try to serve the people 5 they love, try to live worthy of the great communities to which they belong. These are the breath of the nation's nostrils; these are the sinews of its might.

How can any man presume to interpret the emblem of the United States, the emblem of what we would fain be 10 among the family of nations, and find it incumbent upon us to be in the daily round of routine duty? This is Flag Day, but that only means that it is a day when we are to recall the things which we should do every day of our lives. There are no days of special patriotism. There 15 are no days when we should be more patriotic than on other days. We celebrate the Fourth of July merely because the great enterprise of liberty was started on the fourth of July in America, but the great enterprise of liberty was not begun in America. It is illustrated by the blood of 20 thousands of martyrs who lived and died before the great experiment on this side of the water. The Fourth of July merely marks the day when we consecrated ourselves as a nation to this high thing which we pretend to serve. The benefit of a day like this is merely in turning away 25 from the things that distract us, turning away from the things that touch us personally and absorb our interest in the hours of daily work. We remind ourselves of those things that are greater than we are, of those principles by which we believe our hearts to be elevated, of the more 30 difficult things that we must undertake in these days of perplexity when a man's judgment is safest only when it follows the line of principle.

I am solemnized in the presence of such a day. I would not undertake to speak your thoughts. You must inter- 35 pret them for me. But I do feel that back, not only of

every public official, but of every man and woman of the United States, there marches that great host which has brought us to the present day; the host that has never forgotten the vision which it saw at the birth of the nation; the host which always responds to the dictates of humanity and of liberty; the host that will always constitute the strength and the great body of friends of every man who does his duty to the United States.

I am sorry that you do not wear a little flag of the Union every day instead of some days. I can only ask you, if you lose the physical emblem, to be sure that you wear it in your heart, and the heart of America shall interpret the heart of the world.

A LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE °

BY A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. (SEPTEMBER, 1915)

IN spite of its ominous sound, the suggestion of a league of nations to enforce peace has no connection with any effort to stop the present war. It is aimed solely at preventing future conflicts after the terrific struggle now raging has come to an end; and yet this is not a bad time for people in private life to bring forward proposals of such a nature. Owing to the vast number of soldiers under arms, to the proportion of men and women in the warring countries who suffer acutely, to the extent of the devastation and misery, it is probable that, whatever the result may be, the people of all nations will be more anxious to prevent the outbreak of another war than ever before in the history of the world. The time is not yet ripe for governments to take action, but it is ripe for public discussion of practicable means to reduce the danger of future breaches of international peace.

The nations of the world to-day are in much the position of frontier settlements in America half a century ago,

before orderly government was set up. The men there were in the main well disposed, but in the absence of an authority that could enforce order each man, feeling no other security from attack, carried arms which he was prepared to use if danger threatened. The first step, when affrays became unbearable, was the formation of a vigilance committee, supported by the enrollment of all good citizens, to prevent men from shooting one another and to punish offenders. People did not wait for a gradual improvement by the preaching of higher ethics and a better civilization. They felt that violence must be met by force, and, when the show of force was strong enough, violence ceased. In time the vigilance committee was replaced by the policeman and by the sheriff with the *posse comitatus*. The policeman and the sheriff maintain order because they have the bulk of the community behind them, and no country has yet reached, or is likely for an indefinite period to reach, such a state of civilization that it can wholly dispense with the police.

Treaties for the arbitration of international disputes are good. They have proved an effective method of settling questions that would otherwise have bred ill-feeling without directly causing war; but when passion runs high and deep-rooted interests or sentiments are at stake, there is need of the sheriff with his *posse* to enforce the obligation. There are, no doubt, differences in the conception of justice and right, divergencies of civilization, so profound that people will fight over them, and face even the prospect of disaster in war rather than submit. Yet even in such cases it is worth while to postpone the conflict, to have a public discussion of the question at issue before an impartial tribunal, and thus give to the people of the countries involved a chance to consider, before hostilities begin, whether the risk and suffering of war is really worth while. No sensible man expects to abolish wars altogether, but we ought to seek to reduce the probability

of war as much as possible. It is on these grounds that the suggestion has been put forth of a league of nations to enforce peace.

Without attempting to cover details of operation, which
5 are, indeed, of vital importance and will require careful study by experts in international law and diplomacy, the proposal contains four points stated as general objects. The first is that before resorting to arms the members of the league shall submit disputes with one another, if
10 justiciable, to an international tribunal; second, that in like manner they shall submit non-justiciable questions (that is, such as cannot be decided on the basis of strict international law) to an international council of conciliation, which shall recommend a fair and amicable solution;
15 third, that if any member of the league wages war against another before submitting the question in dispute to the tribunal or council, all the other members shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against the state that so breaks the peace; and, fourth, that the
20 signatory powers shall endeavor to codify and improve the rules of international law.

The kernel of the proposal, the feature in which it differs from other plans, lies in the third point, obliging all the members of the league to declare war on any member
25 violating the pact of peace. This is the provision that provokes both adherence and opposition; and at first it certainly gives one a shock that a people should be asked to pledge itself to go to war over a quarrel which is not of its making, in which it has no interest, and in which it may
30 believe that substantial justice lies on the other side. If, indeed, the nations of the earth could maintain complete isolation, could pursue each its own destiny without regard to the rest, if they were not affected by a war between two others or liable to be drawn into it; if, in short, there
35 were no overwhelming common interest in securing universal peace, the provision would be intolerable. It would

be as bad as the liability of an individual to take part in the *posse comitatus* of a community with which he had nothing in common. But in every civilized country the public force is employed to prevent any man, however just his claim, from vindicating his own right with his own hand instead of going to law; and every citizen is bound, when needed, to assist in preventing him, because that is the only way to restrain private war, and the maintenance of order is of paramount importance for every one. Surely the family of nations has a like interest in restraining war between states.

It will be observed that the members of the league are not to bind themselves to enforce the decision of the tribunal or the award of the council of conciliation. That may come in the remote future, but it is no part of this proposal. It would be imposing obligations far greater than the nations can reasonably be expected to assume at the present day; for the conceptions of international morality and fair play are still so vague and divergent that a nation can hardly bind itself to wage war on another, with which it has no quarrel, to enforce a decision or a recommendation of whose justice or wisdom it may not be itself heartily convinced. The proposal goes no farther than obliging all the members to prevent by threat of armed intervention a breach of the public peace before the matter in dispute has been submitted to arbitration, and this is neither unreasonable nor impracticable. There are many questions, especially of a non-justiciable nature, on which we should not be willing to bind ourselves to accept the decision of an arbitration, and where we should regard compulsion by armed intervention of the rest of the world as outrageous. Take, for example, the question of Asiatic immigration, or a claim that the Panama Canal ought to be an unfortified neutral highway, or the desire by a European power to take possession of Colombia. But we ought not, in the interest of universal peace, to

object to making a public statement of our position in an international court or council before resorting to arms; and in fact the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, ratified on November 14, 1914, provides
5 that all disputes between the high contracting parties, of every nature whatsoever, shall, failing other methods of adjustment, be referred for investigation and report to a Permanent International Commission with a stipulation that neither country shall declare war or begin hostilities
10 during such investigation and before the report is submitted.

What is true of this country is true of others. To agree to abide by the result of an arbitration, on every non-justiciable question of every nature whatsoever, on pain
15 of compulsion in any form by the whole world, would involve a greater cession of sovereignty than nations would now be willing to concede. This appears, indeed, perfectly clearly from the discussions at the Hague Conference of 1907. But to exclude differences that do not
20 turn on questions of international law from the cases where a state must present the matter to a tribunal or council of conciliation before beginning hostilities, would leave very little check upon the outbreak of war. Almost every conflict between European nations for more than
25 half a century has been based upon some dissension which could not be decided by strict rules of law, and in which a violation of international law or of treaty rights has usually not even been used as an excuse. This was true of the war of France and Sardinia against Austria in 1859,
30 and in substance of the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866. It was true of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, of the Russo-Turkish War in 1876, of the Balkan War against Turkey in 1912, and of the present war.

No one will claim that a league to enforce peace, such
35 as is proposed, would wholly prevent war, but it would greatly reduce the probability of hostilities. It would

take away the advantage of surprise, of catching the enemy unprepared for a sudden attack. It would give a chance for public opinion on the nature of the controversy to be formed throughout the world and in the militant country. The latter is of great importance, for the moment war is declared argument about its merits is at once stifled. Passion runs too high for calm debate, and patriotism forces people to support their government. But a trial before an international tribunal would give time for discussion while emotion is not yet highly inflamed. Men opposed to war would be able to urge its injustice, to ask whether, after all, the object is worth the sacrifice, and they would get a hearing from their fellow citizens which they cannot get after war begins. The mere delay, the interval for consideration, would be an immense gain for the prospect of a peaceful settlement. . . .

The proposal for a league to enforce peace cannot meet all possible contingencies. It cannot prevent all future wars, nor does any sensible person believe that any plan can do so in the present state of civilization. But it can prevent some wars that would otherwise take place, and, if it does that, it will have done much good.

People have asked how such a league would differ from the Triple Alliance or Triple Entente, whether it would not be nominally a combination for peace which might have quite a different effect. But in fact its object is quite contrary to those alliances. They are designed to protect their members against outside powers. This is intended to insure peace among the members themselves. If it grew strong enough, by including all the great powers, it might well insist on universal peace by compelling the outsiders to come in. But that is not its primary object, which is simply to prevent members from going to war with one another. No doubt if several great nations, and some of the smaller ones, joined it, and if it succeeded in preserving constant friendly relations among its members,

there would grow up among them a sense of solidarity, which would make any outside power chary of attacking one of them; and, what is more valuable, would make outsiders want to join it. But there is little use in speculating about probabilities. It is enough if such a league were a source of enduring peace among its own members.

How about our own position in the United States? The proposal is a radical and subversive departure from the traditional policy of our country. Would it be wise for us to be parties to such an agreement? At the threshold of such a discussion one thing is clear. If we are not willing to urge our own government to join a movement for peace, we have no business to discuss any plan for the purpose. It is worse than futile, it is an impertinence, for Americans to advise the people of Europe how they ought to conduct their affairs if we have nothing in common with them, to suggest to them conventions with burdens which are well enough for them, but which we are not willing to share. If our peace organizations are not prepared to have us take part in the plans they devise, they had better disband, or confine their discussions to Pan-American questions.

To return to the question; would it be wise for the United States to make so great a departure from its traditional policy? The wisdom of consistency lies in adherence to a principle so long as the conditions upon which it is based remain unchanged. But the conditions that affect the relation of America to Europe have changed greatly in the last hundred and twenty years. At that time it took about a month to cross the ocean to our shores. Ships were small and could carry few troops. Their guns had a short range. No country had what would now be called more than a very small army; and it was virtually impossible for any foreign nation to make more than a raid upon our territory before we could organize and equip a sufficient force to resist, however unprepared we

might be at the outset. But now, by the improvements in machinery, the Atlantic has shrunk to a lake, and before long will shrink to a river. Except for the protection of the navy, and perhaps in spite of it, a foreign nation could land on our coast an army of such a size, 5 and armed with such weapons, that unless we maintain troops several times larger than our present forces, we should be quite unable to oppose them before we had suffered incalculable damage.

It is all very well to assert that we have no desire to quar- 10
rel with any one, or any one with us; but good intentions in the abstract, even if accompanied by long-suffering and a disposition to overlook affronts, will not always keep us out of strife. When a number of great nations are locked in a death grapple they are a trifle careless of the rights of 15
the bystander. Within fifteen years of Washington's Farewell Address we were drawn into the wars of Napoleon, and a sorry figure we made for the most part of the fighting on land. A hundred years later our relations with the rest of the world are far closer, our ability to 20
maintain a complete isolation far less. Except by colossal self-deception we cannot believe that the convulsions of Europe do not affect us profoundly, that wars there need not disturb us, that we are not in danger of being drawn into them; or even that we may not some day find our- 25
selves in the direct path of the storm. If our interest in the maintenance of peace is not quite so strong as that of some other nations, it is certainly strong enough to warrant our taking steps to preserve it, even to the point of joining a league to enforce it. The cost of the insurance is well 30
worth the security to us.

If mere material self-interest would indicate such a course, there are other reasons to confirm it. Civilization is to some extent a common heritage which it is worth while for all nations to defend, and war is a scourge which 35
all peoples should use every rational means to reduce. If

the family of nations can by standing together make wars less frequent, it is clearly their duty to do so, and in such a body we do not want the place of our own country to be vacant.

- 5 To join such a league would mean, no doubt, a larger force of men trained for arms in this country, more munitions of war on hand, and better means of producing them rapidly; for although it may be assumed that the members of the league would never be actually called upon to carry
10 out their promise to fight, they ought to have a potential force for the purpose. But in any case this country ought not to be so little prepared for an emergency as it is to-day, and it would require to be less fully armed if it joined a league pledged to protect its members against attack,
15 than if it stood alone and unprotected. In fact the tendency of such a league, by procuring at least delay before the outbreak of hostilities, would be to lessen the need of preparation for immediate war, and thus have a more potent effect in reducing armaments than any formal
20 treaties, whether made voluntarily or under compulsion.

- The proposal for a league to enforce peace does not conflict with plans to go farther, to enforce justice among nations by compelling compliance with the decisions of a tribunal by diplomatic, economic or military pressure.
25 Nor, on the other hand, does it imply any such action, or interfere with the independence or sovereignty of states except in this one respect, that it would prohibit any member, before submitting its claims to arbitration, from making war upon another on pain of finding itself at war with
30 all the rest. The proposal is only a suggestion, defective probably, crude certainly, but if, in spite of that, it is the most promising plan for maintaining peace now brought forward, it merits sympathetic consideration both here and abroad.

PATRIOTISM °

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (1915) ·

PERHAPS you have not all reflected upon what this thing called patriotism is and how recently it has come into the history of man. There was nothing corresponding to what we mean by patriotism in the older world. There was loyalty to race; there was something approaching patriotism, perhaps, in the life of the Greek or Roman city; there was loyalty to ruling monarchs or dynasties; there was pride of origin or opinion; but so long as the nations of Europe and America were in the making, so long as life was fluid, and men were moving uneasily and rapidly over the face of the earth, without fixed habitat or permanent institutions, there was nothing corresponding to what we know as patriotism. Nor is patriotism compatible with any ambition for world-empire or dominion. So long as there was hope of bringing the whole world under the dominion of a single form of religion or under the control of a single governing power — so long as those dreams flitted before the eyes and minds of men — there was nothing corresponding to what we know as patriotism.

Patriotism began to rise when the modern nations took on their form; when each group of men found itself in a separate and substantially fixed habitat; when unity of language began to develop; when literature sprang up on the wings of language; when institutions and achievements began to appear and to organize themselves; and when men began to convene and to feel the need of a social and political life that had an end or a purpose of its own which they could understand and teach to their children. When there was something that could be handed down, some theory of life, some theory of the status which each man bears to his fellow, then there began to emerge the materials out of which patriotism is made. . . .

A patriot is a man who stands to his country in the relation of a father to his child. He loves it; he cares for it; he makes sacrifices for it; he fights for it; he serves it; he tries to shape its course of thought and action, that
5 it may most perfectly adhere to its purpose and its ideal. . . .

There is no necessary conflict in the mind of the wise, well-instructed patriot, between the cause and purpose and aim of his nation and the cause and purpose and aim of the whole great group and family of nations. A patriot
10 is not a termagant; he is not a destroyer of the peace; he is not one who treats with contempt or dislike his fellow who speaks another tongue or who owes allegiance to another flag or who loves another literature; but he is one who understands and appreciates how these various
15 aspects of civilized life can better serve the common purpose by better serving each its own. . . .

Instead of rhetoric, a patriot needs philosophy; instead of noisy and tumultuous expression of high feeling, he needs serious purpose, insight into the significance of his
20 own country, a knowledge of its history, of its great personalities, of its policies, of its achievements, and above all, a knowledge of its aim. He must ask himself not only, "From what origin and by what steps has it come?" but more insistently and more emphatically,
25 "Toward what end and toward what purpose is it moving? What is the reason of it all?" . . .

This country is, in a peculiar sense, the keeper of the conscience of democracy. There may be nations — we know there are nations of the first rank — not committed
30 as we are to the democratic principle. We need find no fault with them for preferring, temporarily at least, some other form of social and political organization; but we must bear in mind that we are the keepers of the democratic conscience of the world. We are the keepers of the
35 open door of opportunity in democracy; and we are the keepers of the great principle of federation as a means

of securing domestic freedom and national unity, and of permitting liberty under law in ways with which we have now been familiar for nearly a century and a half. . . .

The American patriot, keeping his heart open and his mind free from prejudice, seeking friendships everywhere 5 in this world and enmities nowhere, keeping his eye fixed on this line between government and liberty, will ask himself how, as one of the keepers of the democratic conscience, can he act in a given crisis, in the presence of a given problem, before a given issue — how can he act, my friends, so 10 as to protect the aim and the ideals of the American Republic?

He is a poor American who is without a passionate love of home; who does not feel a peculiar drawing at the heart and a choking of the voice when his mind goes back 15 in after-years to the home where his first associations were made, where his father and mother lived, where his childhood friends and associates, his schoolteachers and schoolmates dwelt, where he got his first outlook on life and began to stretch his wings and try to fly. No tempo- 20 rary abiding-place, no working-place or office or house can ever be substituted for the home in the heart of the true patriot. Just so the patriot's feeling for his fatherland or motherland is the feeling he has for the nation to which he belongs, the ideal to which he owes allegiance, the 25 language he speaks, the literature he loves, and the law that determines the patriot's relation to all of these — his intelligence, reflections, and emotions — the relation of the individual to his larger home. . . .

AMERICANISM °

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT. (1915)

WE of the United States need above all things to re- 30 member that, while we are by blood and culture kin to

each of the nations of Europe, we are also separate from each of them. We are a new and distinct nationality. We are developing our own distinctive culture and civilization, and the worth of this civilization will largely depend
5 upon our determination to keep it distinctively our own. Our sons and daughters should be educated here and not abroad. We should freely take from every other nation whatever we can make of use, but we should adopt and develop to our own peculiar needs what we thus take,
10 and never be content merely to copy.

Our nation was founded to perpetuate democratic principles. These principles are that each is to be treated on his worth as a man without regard to the land from which his forefathers came and without regard to the
15 creed which he professes. If the United States proves false to these principles of civil and religious liberty, it will have inflicted the greatest blow on the system of free popular government that has ever been inflicted. Here we have had a virgin continent on which to try the ex-
20 periment of making out of divers race stocks a new nation and of treating all the citizens of that nation in such a fashion as to preserve them equality of opportunity in industrial, civil and political life. Our duty is to secure each man against any injustice by his fellows.

25 One of the most important things to secure for him is the right to hold and to express the religious views that best meet his own soul needs. Any political movement directed against any body of our fellow citizens because of their religious creed is a grave offense against American
30 principles and American institutions. It is a wicked thing either to support or to oppose a man because of the creed he professes. This applies to Jew and Gentile, to Catholic and Protestant, and to the man who would be regarded as unorthodox by all of them alike. Political.
35 movements directed against certain men because of their religious belief, and intended to prevent men of that creed

from holding office, have never accomplished anything but harm. This was true in the days of the "Know-Nothing" and Native-American parties in the middle of the last century; and it is just as true to-day. Such a movement directly contravenes the spirit of the Constitution itself. Washington and his associates believed that it was essential to the existence of this Republic that there should never be any union of Church and State; and such union is partially accomplished wherever a given creed is aided by the State or when any public servant is elected or defeated because of his creed. The Constitution explicitly forbids the requiring of any religious test as a qualification for holding office. To impose such a test by popular vote is as bad as to impose it by law. To vote either for or against a man because of his creed is to impose upon him a religious test and is a clear violation of the spirit of the Constitution.

* * * * *

We must recognize that it is a cardinal sin against democracy to support a man for public office because he belongs to a given creed or to oppose him because he belongs to a given creed. It is just as evil as to draw the line between class and class, between occupation and occupation in political life. No man who tries to draw either line is a good American. True Americanism demands that we judge each man on his conduct, that we judge him in private life and that we so judge him in public life. . . .

I hold that in this country there must be complete severance of Church and State; that public moneys shall not be used for the purpose of advancing any particular creed; and therefore that the public schools shall be non-sectarian and no public moneys appropriated for sectarian schools. As a necessary corollary to this, not only the pupils but the members of the teaching force and the

school officials of all kinds must be treated exactly on a par, no matter what their creed; and there must be no more discrimination against Jew or Catholic or Protestant than discrimination in favor of Jew, Catholic or Protestant. Whoever makes such discrimination is an enemy of the public schools.

What is true of creed is no less true of nationality. There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americans; I do not refer to naturalized Americans, Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated American is not an American at all. This is just as true of the man who puts "native" before the hyphen as of the man who puts German or Irish or English or French before the hyphen. Americanism is a matter of the spirit and of the soul.

Our allegiance must be purely to the United States. We must unsparingly condemn any man who holds any other allegiance. But if he is heartily and singly loyal to this Republic, then no matter where he was born, he is just as good an American as any one else.

The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans or Italian-Americans, each preserving its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more sympathy with Europeans of that nationality than with the other citizens of the American Republic. The men who do not become Americans and nothing else are hyphenated Americans, and there ought to be no room for them in this country. The man who calls himself an American citizen and who yet shows by his actions that he is primarily the citizen of a foreign land, plays a thoroughly mischievous part in the life of our body politic. He has no place here, and the sooner he returns to the land to which he feels his real heart-allegiance, the

better it will be for every good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else. . . .

For an American citizen to vote as a German-American, an Irish-American or an English-American is to be a traitor to American institutions; and those hyphenated Americans who terrorize American politicians by threats of the foreign vote are engaged in treason to the American Republic.

Now this is a declaration of principles. How are we in practical fashion to secure the making of these principles part of the very fiber of our national life? First and foremost let us all resolve that in this country hereafter we shall place far less emphasis upon the question of right and much greater emphasis upon the matter of duty. A republic can't succeed and won't succeed in the tremendous international stress of the modern world unless its citizens possess that form of high-minded patriotism which consists in putting devotion to duty before the question of individual rights. . . .

It was recently announced that the Russian government was to rent a house in New York as a national center, to be Russian in faith and patriotism, to foster the Russian language and keep alive the national feeling in immigrants who come hither. Had this been done, it would have been utterly antagonistic to proper American sentiment, whether perpetrated in the name of Germany, of Austria, of Russia, of England, or France or any other country. . . .

The foreign-born population of this country must be an Americanized population — no other kind can fight the battles of America either in war or peace. It must talk the language of its native-born fellow citizens, it must possess American citizenship and American ideals — and therefore we native-born citizens must ourselves practice a high and fine idealism, and shun as we would the plague

the sordid materialism, which treats pecuniary profit and gross bodily comfort as the only evidences of success. It must stand firm by its oath of allegiance in word and deed and must show that in very fact it has renounced
5 allegiance to every prince, potentate or foreign government. It must be maintained on an American standard of living so as to prevent labor disturbances in important plants and at critical times. None of these objects can be secured as long as we have immigrant colonies, ghettos,
10 and immigrant sections, and above all they cannot be assured so long as we consider the immigrant only as an industrial asset. The immigrant must not be allowed to drift or to be put at the mercy of the exploiter. Our object is not to imitate one of the older racial types, but
15 to maintain a new American type and then to secure loyalty to this type. We cannot secure such loyalty unless we make this a country where men shall feel that they have justice and also where they shall feel that they are required to perform the duties imposed upon them. The
20 policy of "Let alone" which we have hitherto pursued is thoroughly vicious from two standpoints. By this policy we have permitted the immigrants, and too often the native-born laborers as well, to suffer injustice. Moreover, by this policy we have failed to impress upon the
25 immigrant and upon the native-born as well that they are expected to do justice as well as to receive justice, that they are expected to be heartily and actively and single-mindedly loyal to the flag no less than to benefit by living under it.

30 We cannot afford to continue to use hundreds of thousands of immigrants merely as industrial assets while they remain social outcasts and menaces any more than fifty years ago we could afford to keep the black man merely as an industrial asset and not as a human being.

35 We cannot afford to build a big industrial plant and herd men and women about it without care for their welfare.

We cannot afford to permit squalid overcrowding or the kind of living system which makes impossible the decencies and necessities of life. . . .

All of us, no matter from what land our parents came, no matter in what way we may severally worship our 5 Creator, must stand shoulder to shoulder in a united America for the elimination of race and religious prejudice. We must stand for a reign of equal justice to both big and small. We must insist on the maintenance of the American standard of living. We must stand for an adequate 10 national control which shall secure a better training of our young men in time of peace, both for the work of peace and for the work of war. We must direct every national resource, material and spiritual, to the task not of shirking difficulties, but of training our people to overcome diffi- 15 culties. Our aim must be, not to make life easy and soft, not to soften soul and body, but to fit us in virile fashion to do a great work for all mankind. This great work can only be done by a mighty democracy, with those qualities of soul, guided by those qualities of mind, which will 20 both make it refuse to do injustice to any other nation, and also enable it to hold its own against aggression by any other nation. In our relations with the outside world, we must abhor wrongdoing, and disdain to commit it, and we must no less disdain the baseness of spirit which 25 tamely submits to wrongdoing. Finally and most important of all, we must strive for the establishment within our own borders of that stern and lofty standard of personal and public morality which shall guarantee to each man his rights, and which shall insist in return upon the full 30 performance by each man of his duties both to his neighbor and to the great nation whose flag must symbolize in the future, as it has symbolized in the past, the highest hopes of all mankind.

PAN-AMERICANISM °

BY ROBERT LANSING. (DECEMBER 27, 1915)

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS :

It is an especial gratification to me to address you to-day, not only as the officer of the United States who invited you to attend this great Scientific Congress of the American Republics, but also as the presiding member of the
5 Governing Board of the Pan-American Union. In this dual capacity I have the honor and the pleasure to welcome you, gentlemen, to the capital of this country, in the full confidence that your deliberations will be of mutual benefit in your various spheres of thought and re-
10 search, and not only in your individual spheres but in the all-embracing sphere of Pan-American unity and fraternity which is so near to the hearts of us all.

It is the Pan-American spirit and the policy of Pan-Americanism to which I would for a few moments direct
15 your attention at this early meeting of the Congress, since it is my earnest hope that "Pan-America" will be the keynote which will influence your relations with one another and inspire your thoughts and words.

Nearly a century has passed since President Monroe
20 proclaimed to the world his famous doctrine as the national policy of the United States. It was founded on the principle that the safety of this Republic would be imperiled by the extension of sovereign rights by a European power over territory in this hemisphere. Conceived in a sus-
25 picion of monarchical institutions and in a full sympathy with the republican idea, it was uttered at a time when our neighbors to the south had won their independence and were gradually adapting themselves to the exercise of their newly acquired rights. To those struggling
30 nations the doctrine became a shield against the great

European powers, which in the spirit of the age coveted political control over the rich regions which the new-born States had made their own.

The United States was then a small nation, but a nation which had been tried in the fire; a nation whose indom- 5 itable will had remained unshaken by the dangers through which it had passed. The announcement of the Monroe Doctrine was a manifestation of this will. It was a courageous thing for President Monroe to do. It meant much in those early days, not only to this country but 10 to those nations which were commencing a new life under the standard of liberty. How much it meant we can never know, since for four decades it remained unchallenged.

During that period the younger Republics of America, 15 giving expression to the virile spirit born of independence and liberal institutions, developed rapidly and set their feet firmly on the path of national progress which has led them to that plane of intellectual and material prosperity which they to-day enjoy. 20

Within recent years the Government of the United States has found no occasion, with the exception of the Venezuela boundary incident, to remind Europe that the Monroe Doctrine continues unaltered a national policy of this Republic. The Republics of America are no 25 longer children in the great family of nations. They have attained maturity. With enterprise and patriotic fervor they are working out their several destinies.

During this later time, when the American nations have come into a realization of their nationality and are fully 30 conscious of the responsibilities and privileges which are theirs as sovereign and independent States, there has grown up a feeling that the Republics of this hemisphere constitute a group separate and apart from the other nations of the world, a group which is united by common 35 ideals and common aspirations. I believe that this feel-

ing is general throughout North and South America, and that year by year it has increased until it has become a potent influence over our political and commercial intercourse. It is the same feeling which, founded on sympathy and mutual interest, exists among the members of a family. It is the tie which draws together the twenty-one Republics and makes of them the American Family of Nations.

This feeling, vague at first, has become to-day a definite and certain force. We term it the "Pan-American spirit," from which springs the international policy of Pan-Americanism. It is that policy which is responsible for this great gathering of distinguished men, who represent the best and most advanced thought of the Americas. It is a policy which this Government has unhesitatingly adopted and which it will do all in its power to foster and promote.

When we attempt to analyze Pan-Americanism we find that the essential qualities are those of the family — sympathy, helpfulness and a sincere desire to see another grow in prosperity, absence of covetousness of another's possessions, absence of jealousy of another's prominence, and, above all, absence of that spirit of intrigue which menaces the domestic peace of a neighbor. Such are the qualities of the family tie among individuals, and such should be, and I believe are, the qualities which compose the tie which unites the American Family of Nations.

I speak only for the Government of the United States, but in doing so I am sure that I express sentiments which will find an echo in every Republic represented here, when I say that the might of this country will never be exercised in a spirit of greed to wrest from a neighboring state its territory or possessions. The ambitions of this Republic do not lie in the path of conquest but in the paths of peace and justice. Whenever and wherever we can we will stretch forth a hand to those who need help. If the sovereignty of a sister Republic is menaced from

overseas, the power of the United States and, I hope and believe, the united power of the American Republics will constitute a bulwark which will protect the independence and integrity of their neighbor from unjust invasion or aggression. The American Family of Nations might 5 well take for its motto that of Dumas' famous musketeers, "One for all; all for one."

If I have correctly interpreted Pan-Americanism from the standpoint of the relations of our Governments with those beyond the seas, it is in entire harmony with the 10 Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is a national policy of the United States. Pan-Americanism is an international policy of the Americas. The motives are to an extent different; the ends sought are the same. Both can exist without impairing the force of either. And 15 both do exist and, I trust, will ever exist in all their vigor.

But Pan-Americanism extends beyond the sphere of politics and finds its application in the varied fields of human enterprise. Bearing in mind that the essential idea manifests itself in coöperation, it becomes necessary 20 for effective coöperation that we should know each other better than we do now. We must not only be neighbors, but friends; not only friends, but intimates. We must understand one another. We must comprehend our several needs. We must study the phases of material and 25 intellectual development which enter into the varied problems of national progress. We should, therefore, when opportunity offers, come together and familiarize ourselves with each other's processes of thought in dealing with legal, economic, and educational questions. 30

Commerce and industry, science and art, public and private law, government and education, all those great fields which invite the intellectual thought of man, fall within the province of the deliberations of this Congress. In the exchange of ideas and comparison of experiences 35 we will come to know one another and to carry to the

nations which we represent a better and truer knowledge of our neighbors than we have had in the past. I believe that from that wider knowledge a mutual esteem and trust will spring which will unite these Republics more
5 closely politically, commercially, and intellectually, and will give to the Pan-American spirit an impulse and power which it has never known before.

The present epoch is one which must bring home to every thinking American the wonderful benefits to be
10 gained by trusting our neighbors and by being trusted by them, by coöperation and helpfulness, by a dignified regard for the rights of all, and by living our national lives in harmony and good will.

Across the thousands of miles of the Atlantic we see
15 Europe convulsed with the most terrible conflict which this world has ever witnessed; we see the manhood of these great nations shattered, their homes ruined, their productive energies devoted to the one purpose of destroying their fellowmen. When we contemplate the untold
20 misery which these once happy people are enduring and the heritage which they are transmitting to succeeding generations, we can not but contrast a continent at war and a continent at peace. The spectacle teaches a lesson we can not ignore.

25 If we seek the dominant ideas in world politics since we became independent nations, we will find that we won our liberties when individualism absorbed men's thoughts and inspired their deeds. This idea was gradually supplanted by that of nationalism, which found expression in the ambitions of conquest and the greed for territory so manifest
30 in the nineteenth century. Following the impulse of nationalism the idea of internationalism began to develop. It appeared to be an increasing influence throughout the civilized world, when the present war of Empires, that
35 great manifestation of nationalism, stayed its progress in Europe and brought discouragement to those who had

hoped that the new idea would usher in an era of universal peace and justice.

While we are not actual participants in the momentous struggle which is shattering the ideals toward which civilization was moving and is breaking down those principles on which internationalism is founded, we stand as anxious spectators of this most terrible example of nationalism. Let us hope that it is the final outburst of the cardinal evils of that idea which has for nearly a century spread its baleful influence over the world. 10

Pan-Americanism is an expression of the idea of internationalism. America has become the guardian of that idea, which will in the end rule the world. Pan-Americanism is the most advanced as well as the most practical form of that idea. It has been made possible because of our geographical isolation, of our similar political institutions, and of our common conception of human rights. Since the European war began other factors have strengthened this natural bond and given impulse to the movement. Never before have our people so fully realized the significance of the words, "Peace" and "Fraternity." Never have the need and benefit of international coöperation in every form of human activity been so evident as they are to-day. 15 20

The path of opportunity lies plain before us Americans. The government and people of every Republic should strive to inspire in others confidence and coöperation by exhibiting integrity of purpose and equity in action. Let us as members of this Congress, therefore, meet together on the plane of common interests and together seek the common good. Whatever is of common interest, whatever makes for the common good, whatever demands united effort is a fit subject for applied Pan-Americanism. Fraternal helpfulness is the keystone to the arch. Its pillars are faith and justice. 25 30 35

In this great movement this congress will, I believe,

play an exalted part. You, gentlemen, represent powerful intellectual forces in your respective countries. Together you represent the enlightened thought of the continent. The policy of Pan-Americanism is practical. 5 The Pan-American spirit is ideal. It finds its source and being in the minds of thinking men. It is the offspring of the best, the noblest conception of international obligation.

With all earnestness, therefore, I commend to you, 10 gentlemen, the thought of the American Republics, twenty-one sovereign and independent nations, bound together by faith and justice, and firmly cemented by a sympathy which knows no superior and no inferior, but which recognizes only equality and fraternity.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BAR^o

BY ELIHU ROOT. (1916)

15 OUR country is passing in under the shadow of great responsibilities and great dangers to its institutions.

We are no longer isolated. The everflowing stream of ocean which surrounds us is no longer a barrier. We have grown so great, the bonds that unite us in trade, in influence, in power, with the rest of the world have become so 20 strong and compelling that we cannot live unto ourselves alone.

New questions loom up in the horizon which must be met; questions upon which we have little or no precedent 25 to guide us; questions upon the right determination of which the peace and prosperity of our country will depend. Those questions can be met only by a nation worthy to deal with them. They can be met by a democracy only as it is prepared for the performance of its duty. . . .

30 How are we to meet the future, and what is the respon-

sibility of the bar, that is the guardian of American law, toward meeting that future? It is not a matter of opportunism; it is not a matter of temporary expedient. The situation cannot be dealt with by merely doing what seems to you and to me to be the expedient thing in this 5 situation and in that situation today or tomorrow. Our people must base themselves upon a foundation of principle. They must renew their loyalty to ideals. And the basic principle is the principle of American law.

It is the principle of individual liberty which has grown 10 out of the life of the Anglo-Saxon race and has been waxing strong during all the seven hundred years since Magna Charta. That was the formative principle that made America, the United States and Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf to the frozen north, 15 English speaking, pursuing the course of the common law, preserving liberty and doing justice. That, the power of that principle of individual liberty that developed in the life of our race, is the greatest formative power in the history of the world. Over against it stands the 20 principle of the state. Upon the one hand is the declaration in that great instrument, the value of which we hardly yet appreciate, the immortal Declaration, penned by Thomas Jefferson, that all men are created with unalienable rights, which governments are created to preserve. 25 On the other hand is the principle that states are created with supreme rights which all individuals are bound to observe. The one centers the system of law and order and justice upon the inalienable right of the individual: the other centers the system of law and order and justice 30 upon the rights of the state, which subordinates the rights of the individual, and that is the fundamental question which is being fought out upon the battlefields of Europe.

Here in this country we have enjoyed liberty and order 35 so long that we have forgotten how they came. Our

people assume that they come as the air comes, to be breathed; they have assumed that they will, of their nature and by their own force, continue forever, without effort. Ah, no! Liberty has always been born of struggle.

5 It has not come save through sacrifice and the blood of martyrs and the devotion of mankind. And it is not to be preserved except by jealous watchfulness and stern determination always to be free.

That eternal vigilance is the price of liberty is such a
 10 truism that it has lost its meaning, but it is an eternal truth, and the principles of American liberty today stand in need of a renewed devotion on the part of the American people. We have forgotten that in our vast material
 15 prosperity. We have grown so rich, we have lived in ease and comfort and peace so long, that we have forgotten to what we owe those agreeable incidents of life. We must be prepared to defend our individual liberty in two ways. We must be prepared to do it first by force of
 20 arms against all external aggression. God knows I love peace and I despise all foolish and wicked wars, but I do not wish for my country the peace of slavery or dishonor or injustice or poltroonery. I want to see in my country the spirit that beat in the breasts of the men at Concord
 25 Bridge, who were just and God-fearing men, but who were ready to fight for their liberty. And if the hundred million people of America have that spirit and it is made manifest they will not have to fight.

But there is another way in which we must be prepared to defend it, and this is necessary to the first: We must be
 30 prepared to defend it within as against all indifference and false doctrine, against all willingness to submit individual independence to the control of practical tyranny, whether it be of a monarch or a majority.

Now there are certain circumstances which tend toward
 35 weakening the allegiance of the American people to the fundamental principles upon which the law of America

is based. One of them is that the changes in conditions have required and are continually requiring extensions of government, governmental regulation and control, in order to prevent injustice; and we naturally turn in the creation of these new and necessary regulations to those governments which have been most efficient in regulations, and those are the governments which sacrifice individual liberty for the purpose of regulating the conduct of men; and so the tendency is away from the old American principles toward the principles of bureaucratic and governmental control over individual life; a dangerous road for a free people to travel to attain necessary results, and the danger is that in attaining those results the true principles of liberty be lost sight of.

Another circumstance which we ought not to lose sight of is the fact that a vast number of people have come to the United States within very recent times from those countries of Europe which differ so widely in their fundamental conceptions of law and personal freedom from ourselves.

The millions of immigrants who have come from the continent of Europe have come from communities which have not the traditions of individual liberty, but the traditions of state control over liberty; they have come from communities in which the courts are part of the administrative system of the government, not independent tribunals to do justice between the individual and the government; they have come from communities in which the law is contained in codes framed and imposed upon the people by superior power, and not communities like ours, in which the law is the growth of the life of the people, made by the people, through their own recognition of their needs.

It is a slow process to change the attitude of the individual toward law, toward political principles. It cannot be done in a moment, and this great mass of men, good men, good women, without our traditions, but with

entirely different traditions, will change us unless we change them.

Fifteen per cent of the lawyers of this city are foreign born. Fifty per cent of the lawyers of this city are either
 5 foreign born or of foreign parents. And the great mass of them have in their blood, with all the able and brilliant and good and noble men among them — have in their blood necessarily the traditions of the countries from which they came. They cannot help it. They will hold
 10 those traditions until they are expelled by the spirit of American institutions. That is a question of time. And somebody has got to look after it. Somebody has got to make the spirit of those institutions vocal. Somebody has got to exhibit belief in them, trust in them, devotion to
 15 them, loyalty to them, or you cannot win this great body from continental Europe to a true understanding of and loyalty to our institutions.

The change may well be seen in our colleges and law schools, where there are many professors who think they
 20 know better what law ought to be, and what the principles of jurisprudence ought to be, and what the political institutions of the country ought to be, than the people of England and America, working out their laws through centuries of life. And these men, who think they know it
 25 all, these half-baked and conceited theorists, are teaching the boys in our law schools and in our colleges to despise American institutions.

Here is a great new duty for the bar, and if we have not been hypocrites during all these years in which we have
 30 been standing up in court and appealing to the principles of the law, appealing to the principles of our Constitution, demanding justice according to the rules of the common law for our clients; if we have not been hypocrites, we will come to the defense and the assertion — the trium-
 35 phant assertion — of those principles upon which we have been relying.

All classes and conditions of men are organized, the merchants, the manufacturers, the bankers, the clergymen, the farmers, the laborers, actively interested in the promotion of the ideals of their class or their calling. It is for lawyers to perform the highest duty, for the ideals of 5 their class, or their calling, are the ideals of our country's free institutions. . . .

The whole business of government, in which we are all concerned, is becoming serious, grave, threatening. No man in America has any right to rest contented and easy 10 and indifferent; for never before, not even in the time of the Civil War, have all the energies and all the devotion of the American Democracy been demanded for the perpetuity of American institutions, for the continuance of the American Republic against foes without and more 15 insidious foes within, than in this year of grace 1916.

PATRIOTISM °

BY LYMAN ABBOTT. (MARCH 8, 1916)

A NATION is made great, not by its fruitful acres, but by the men who cultivate them; not by its great forests, but by the men who use them; not by its mines, but by the men who work in them; not by its railways, but by 20 the men who build and run them. America was a great land when Columbus discovered it; Americans have made of it a great Nation.

In 1776 our fathers had a vision of a new Nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all 25 men are created equal." Without an army they fought the greatest of existing world empires that they might realize this vision. A third of a century later, without a navy they fought the greatest navy in the world that they might win for their Nation the freedom of the seas. Half 30 a century later they fought through an unparalleled Civil

War that they might establish for all time on this continent the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. A third of a century later they fought to emancipate an oppressed neighbor, and, victory won, gave back Cuba to the Cubans, sent an army of school-masters to educate for liberty the Filipinos, asked no war indemnity from their vanquished enemy, but paid him liberally for his property. Meanwhile they offered land freely to any farmer who would live upon and cultivate it, opened to foreign immigrants on equal terms the door of industrial opportunity, shared with them political equality, and provided by universal taxation for universal education.

The cynic who can see in this history only a theme for his egotistical satire is no true American, whatever his parentage, whatever his birthplace. He who looks with pride upon this history which his fathers have written by their heroic deeds, who accepts with gratitude the inheritance which they have bequeathed to him, and who highly resolves to preserve this inheritance unimpaired and to pass it on to his descendants enlarged and enriched, is a true American, be his birthplace or his parentage what it may.

WHAT THE FLAG MEANS °

BY CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. (JUNE, 1916)

THIS flag means more than association and reward. It is the symbol of our national unity, our national endeavor, our national aspiration. It tells you of the struggle for independence, of union preserved, of liberty and union one and inseparable, of the sacrifices of brave men and women to whom the ideals and honor of this nation have been dearer than life.

It means America first; it means an undivided allegiance. It means America united, strong and efficient,

equal to her tasks. It means that you cannot be saved by the valor and devotion of your ancestors; that to each generation comes its patriotic duty; and that upon your willingness to sacrifice and endure as those before you have sacrificed and endured rests the national hope. 5

It speaks of equal rights; of the inspiration of free institutions exemplified and vindicated; of liberty under law intelligently conceived and impartially administered.

There is not a thread in it but scorns self-indulgence, weakness, and rapacity. It is eloquent of our community 10 interests, outweighing all divergences of opinion, and of our common destiny.

Given as a prize to those of the highest standing, it happily enforces the lesson that intelligence and zeal must go together, that discipline must accompany emotions, 15 and that we must ultimately rely upon enlightened opinion.

MILITARY TRAINING IN A DEMOCRACY°

BY *The World's Work*. (JANUARY, 1917)

THE sentiment for universal military training has been of reluctant growth in this country, but it seems now to have taken hold upon the convictions of the American 20 people. They long fostered a noble aspiration for perpetual peace—an aspiration based not upon fear or slothfulness or creature comfort, but upon a profound conviction of the wickedness and the futility of war. And so benign had been their intentions toward the rest 25 of the world that they had come to assume that the United States was outside the range of foreign envy or malice.

The dream has been shattered. The vastest war and one of the most ferocious in history has destroyed the 30 illusion of a permanent peace of altruism. And instead of finding the benignancy of our intentions a bar to hos-

tility abroad, we have found ourselves on every hand confronted by short-tempered nations whose speech to us has been as sharp as the limits of prudence would permit.

We have taken the hint, and, relaxing no whit our benevolence of purpose, we have gone halfway toward assuring that we shall so far arm ourselves as to guarantee that we shall be strong enough to be left alone to pursue our peaceful way. President Wilson knew the history and the temper of the American people well enough to know that they believed by inheritance in a strong navy and a weak army; and he got the means of defense they would most quickly agree to — he got for the navy the most prodigious appropriation in its history.

Now the people see the need of a strong army as well. If it is not to become the instrument of oppression which history has taught them to dread, it must be a democratic army — and that means universal military training. It does not mean the continental system of long-term service. Least of all does it mean the erection of another Prussian hereditary class of military egotists, or the more romantic but scarcely less repugnant military cast of the professional British army before the war. What is wanted in this country is a training in the use of arms and the usages of war as brief as the Australian or the Swiss, and an organization as democratic as the French, where officers and men are simply fellow-citizens in a common service of defense. More than this will not be tolerated by the great body of American people: less than this will not be enough to guarantee the Nation's safety.

AN AMERICAN CREED °

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT. (APRIL 8, 1917)

"THE Sun" asks me for "an American creed." I object to creeds in general, because they often pretend to

be fixed or final statements of belief. Nevertheless I write out here a political and social creed which I think is accepted today by most thoughtful and dutiful Americans. It is to be expected and hoped that every tomorrow will improve it.

5

Americans believe

In individual liberty, so far as it can be exercised without injury to the superior rights of the community:

In complete religious toleration:

In freedom of speech and of the press, subject only to temporary restraint in times of popular excitement by public authority only:

In the control of public policies and measures by representative, legislative assemblies elected by universal suffrage:

15

In an executive head of the nation elected for a short term by universal suffrage, and exercising large powers, but under constitutional limitations:

In local self-government:

In a universal education which discovers or reveals the best function for each individual, and helps him toward it:

In a free and mobile social state which permits each individual to render to the community the best service of which he is capable:

25

In resistance to evil men and governments, and in the prevention of evils by every means that applied science has put into the hands of man:

In submission to the will of the majority after full discussion and a fair vote:

30

In leading rather than driving men, women, and children:

In the practice of reasoning, self-guidance, and self-control rather than of implicit obedience:

In the doctrine of each for all and all for each:

35

In a universal sense of obligation to the community

and the country, an obligation to be discharged by service, gratitude, and love:

In the dignity and strength of common human nature, and therefore in democracy and its ultimate triumph.

THE CHALLENGE °

BY WOODROW WILSON. (APRIL 2, 1917)

5 GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS. I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of
10 making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of hu-
15 manity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediter-
20 man submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given
25 to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough
30 as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a cer-

tain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or 5 mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Gov- 10 ernment itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto 15 subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after 20 stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept 25 aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were 30 supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even 35 in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed

innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

- 5 It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There
10 has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We
15 must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

- When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of
20 February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are
25 in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase
30 upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to
35 use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern pub-

licist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough 5 at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice 10 we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of 15 human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Con- 20 gress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps 25 not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the ut- 30 most practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve 35 the organization and mobilization of all the material re-

sources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of
 5 the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men,
 10 who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate
 15 credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to
 20 base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by
 25 vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military
 30 forces with the duty, — for it will be a very practical duty, — of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective
 35 there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several

executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the 5 branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the 10 world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the 15 same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the prin- 20 ciples of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no 25 longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We 30 have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among 35 the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with
5 their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men
10 who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such de-
15 signs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of
20 courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained
25 except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan
30 what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

35 Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by

the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thoughts, in all the intimate relationships of her people ⁵ that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken ¹⁰ off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naïve majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that ¹⁵ the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, ²⁰ our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come peril- ²⁵ ously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even ³⁰ in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as ³⁵ we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a

government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace
5 and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose be-
10 cause we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the
15 world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight
20 thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace
25 must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of
30 the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall
35 wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion

and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and 5 our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for 10 this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I 15 take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights. 20

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as 20 belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of 25 humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, — however hard it may be for them, for the time being, 30 to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, — exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an oppor- 35 tunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and

actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government
5 in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty,
10 it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the
15 Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the
20 balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for
25 a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who
30 know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

WHY THIS IS AMERICA'S WAR

BY *The World's Work*. (MAY, 1917)

THIS is America's war. The men who founded this government hoped that some day its principles would encompass the earth, and from that day to this every American who has known his heritage has hoped that every able people would take unto itself its own government. The 5 distrust of kings and all the system of privileges that hangs about them is bred deep in the bone with us. Perhaps in some cases the distrust is unreasonable, but fundamentally it is right. Nearly a hundred years ago President Monroe enunciated his famous doctrine. One of its main tenets 10 was and is that any extension of monarchy on this side of the ocean is a menace to our free institutions. It has become even clearer lately that any spread of the Prussian autocratic power was a menace to free institutions all over the world, ours as well as all others. If the Monroe Doctrine 15 was wise in its day the war for democracy is wise now.

It is true that overt acts which plunged us into war against the Kaiser were the sinking of our ships. Similarly we went to war against George III because of a stamp tax. But the repeal of the stamp duties would never have 20 stopped the Declaration of Independence, nor would a German offer to let our ships pass return us to a painful neutrality between the world's freedom and the doctrine of divine right.

Fundamentally it is a war for human rights, for gov- 25 ernment by the governed. Gradually the peoples of the world are recognizing the true character of the struggle and allying themselves against the Kaiser and the Prussian machine. And the Kaiser on his side has no allies. He has semi-vassal states. Germans direct the Austrian 30 armies, and Austrian diplomacy is but a shadow of the German. Bulgarian policies are fixed in Berlin more than

in Sofia. And Enver Pasha's ruling clique in Turkey is under the thumb of the German masters. These semi-vassal states might revolt, but except by revolt their freedom as states is largely ended, and while they are dominated by Prussia there is little hope for the political freedom of their subjects. The 160 million who live in the Kaiser's hoped-for place in the sun — from Hamburg to Bagdad — were to be doomed to reaction and to drill until they would spread reaction over the rest of the world.

10 The peoples of the world have one after another, as the President phrased it, "seen the facts with no veil of false pretense about them" and joined the battle line of freedom.

The French, the English, the Italian Liberals, the Greek Liberals, the Russian Liberals, and finally we, have seen 15 the true character of the struggle. And as the veil is lifted we have seen a brighter hope for human freedom than ever appeared before. The dark forces of dynasties and divine right will have few refugees when peace at last comes.

Here, in England, in France, and in Italy there will be 20 a keener realization than ever before of the blessings of political freedom. The Russian people have made good their emancipation. The Poles can again govern themselves. Greece will not longer be used for its king's kinship. China is struggling on to create a democracy. Liberalism has everywhere in the neutral countries of Europe 25 gained an added impetus. And unless the war be a failure, autocracy in Germany, Austria, and Turkey will be ended. The 160 millions of people who were to be trained to enslave the earth will themselves be freed.

30 We are fighting for government by the representatives of the governed — by majority rule; for the principle of nationalities that no nation need be an unwilling subject of another, that men of one race and language shall not be subservient to men of another, that peoples shall not 35 be transferred from one government to another by sale or

conquest, and that each nation, large and small, shall have a fair chance of economic growth in order not only that its people shall have security for life and liberty but also an opportunity for the pursuit of happiness and well-being.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE °

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (1917)

ONE of the oldest and subtlest philosophies in the world teaches that the whole of history consists in the struggle between the principle of good and the principle of evil. It teaches that now one, now the other, is uppermost, but that as the good principle overcomes the evil, or as the evil principle overcomes the good, so mankind marches forward to freedom or so it falls back into serfdom and slavery. 5 10

This great struggle between the good and the evil principle has taken, in this twentieth century, the form of a contest between two political and social principles which cannot live together in this world. And that is why this contest must be settled by force of arms. If those two principles had anything in common, an adjustment between them might possibly be reached; but each principle absolutely excludes the other. As Abraham Lincoln said a generation ago, "This nation cannot exist half slave and half free," so it may be said today, "This world cannot exist half despotism and half democracy." 15 20

Democracy must in its way dispose of despotism or despotism will in its way overcome democracy. Therefore it is to no ordinary contest that this nation goes forward. It is to no struggle as to which one may be for a moment indifferent. It is to the deepest and most tremendous conflict that all history records. 25

THE MENACE °

BY WOODROW WILSON. (JUNE 14, 1917)

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: We meet to celebrate Flag Day because this flag which we honor and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than
5 that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us, — speaks to
10 us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great
15 people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the nation, to go forth and die beneath it on the fields of blood far away, — for what? For some unaccustomed
20 thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which
25 it has seen men, its own men, die on every battlefield upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she
30 has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that, their agents diligently spread sedition amongst us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance, — and some of those agents were men connected with the official Embassy of the German Government itself here in our own capital. They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her, — and that, not by indirection, but by direct suggestion from the Foreign Office in Berlin. They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe. And many of our own people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and

we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own. They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood
5 from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany,
10 who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as service-
15 able organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller states, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination. Their purpose has long
20 been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their classrooms and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy as rather the dream of minds detached
25 from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying,
30 and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan states with German princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies and make interest with her government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their
35 fires in Persia. The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step in a plan which compassed

Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military 5 power and political control across the very centre of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia; and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Servia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous states of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to be- 10 come part of the central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else! It rejected the idea of solidarity of race 15 entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force, — Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, Roumanians, Turks, Armenians, — the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout 20 little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East. These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the pres- 25 ence or the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way. 30

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution! Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now 35 desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from

Berlin. The so-called central Powers are in fact but a single Power. Servia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Roumania is overrun. The Turkish armies, 5 which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf 10 the net is spread.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifest from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace, has been the talk of her Foreign Office for now a year and more; not peace 15 upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the 20 terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept. That government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its 25 armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It cannot go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

30 The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point Fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch, their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more 35 than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their

hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people: they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it: an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction, — socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools,

will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or coöperation in western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom; and all Europe will arm for the next, the final struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the centre of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations; and seek to undermine the government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties. The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a Peoples' War, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypoc-

risies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the 5 most irresistible armaments, — a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our 10 way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new lustre. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes 15 the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

THE DELIVERERS °

BY *The Outlook*. (1917)

A COMMON, if not prevalent, opinion has been that the only justifiable war is a war of defense. This has been expressed in many forms and explains many govern- 20 mental acts. Our own entrance into the war has been repeatedly justified on the ground that it was necessary as the only effective means of defending our rights on the sea. One reason why France is free from the aspersions which have been cast on other nations on both sides of this 25 war is that she is manifestly fighting in defense of her own soil.

There is, however, a higher right than that. It is the right of succor, of deliverance, of rescue.

The war which the United States is waging against Ger- 30 many is only in part a war of self-defense. It is chiefly a

war for the succor of oppressed peoples, for the deliverance of civilized lands from the hands of the barbarian, for the rescue of the public law of nations, and of the right of mankind to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

5 As our soldiers land in France and take their places in the line beside the French and the English, as our sailors watch the seas for hostile submarines, and as our aviators give battle in the air, they are asserting the right of the American people to defend themselves, their ships, and
10 their territory; but they are doing something more than that.

They are coming to the rescue of the Belgian people, whose brave King refused to barter the honor of his country for cash, and chose rather to endure with his people un-
15 speakable suffering.

They are coming to the rescue of France, whose treasury of art and whose liberty have alike been put into peril of destruction by a Power that is as ruthless in its denial of liberty as it is in its destruction of the monu-
20 ments of art.

They are coming to the rescue of those free institutions of the English people which we have inherited from them and on which our own freedom is built.

They are coming to the rescue of the Russian people,
25 beside whom it is an honor to fight for liberty because they have already done so much to rescue themselves.

They are coming to the rescue of that nation, the latest of the great countries of Europe to achieve its own liberation, that nation that has been called the crowned republic
30 — Italy.

They are coming to the rescue of backward, impoverished, oppressed peoples of Europe and Asia — to the rescue of the Serbians and Montenegrins, who chose to fight rather than to become vassals of an arrogant Austria;
35 to the rescue of the Poles, whose continued subjection is essential to the remnants of the old unholy Holy Alliance;

to the rescue of the Armenians, who have suffered at the hands of the brutal Turk and Kurd and from the designs of the more cruel, because more resourceful, mind of the ruthless Prussian; to the rescue of the Greeks from the consequences of their trust in their own faithless ruler.

They are coming to the rescue of the fabric of the public law of nations — the sacred observance of treaties and of the principles of morality in the conduct of nations — which is the only fabric from which there can ever be erected permanent peace.

And, not least of all, they are coming to the rescue of the peoples of the Central Empires themselves, who have been denied by their rulers even the knowledge of what civil liberty means.

15

AN AMERICAN CREED

By *The Outlook*. (1917)

I AM an American.

I believe in the dignity of labor, the sanctity of the home, and the high destiny of democracy.

Courage is my birthright, justice my ideal, and faith in humanity my guiding star.

20

By the sacrifice of those who suffered that I might live, who died that America might endure, I pledge my life to my country and the liberation of mankind.

WHY WE ARE FIGHTING GERMANY°

By FRANKLIN K. LANE. (AUGUST, 1917)

WHY are we fighting Germany? The brief answer is that ours is a war of self-defense. We did not wish to fight Germany. She made the attack upon us; not on our

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shores, but on our ships, our lives, our rights, our future. For two years and more we held to a neutrality that made us apologists for things which outraged man's common sense of fair play and humanity. At each new offense —
5 the invasion of Belgium, the killing of civilian Belgians, the attacks on Scarborough and other defenseless towns, the laying of mines in neutral waters, the fencing off of the seas — and on and on through the months we said: "This is war — archaic, uncivilized war, but war! All rules
10 have been thrown away: all nobility; man has come down to the primitive brute. And while we cannot justify we will not intervene. It is not our war."

Then why are we in? Because we could not keep out. The invasion of Belgium which opened the war, led to the
15 invasion of the United States by slow, steady, logical steps. Our sympathies evolved into a conviction of self-interest. Our love of fair play ripened into alarm at our own peril.

We talked in the language and in the spirit of good
20 faith and sincerity, as honest men should talk, until we discovered that our talk was construed as cowardice. And Mexico was called upon to invade us. We talked as men would talk who cared alone for peace and the advancement of their own material interests, until we discovered
25 that we were thought to be a nation of mere money makers, devoid of all character — until, indeed, we were told that we could not walk the highways of the world without permission of a Prussian soldier; that our ships might not sail without wearing a striped uniform of humiliation upon
30 a narrow path of national subservience. We talked as men talk who hope for honest agreement, not for war, until we found that the treaty torn to pieces at Liège was but the symbol of a policy that made agreements worthless against a purpose that knew no word but success.

35 And so we came into this war for ourselves. It is a war to save America — to preserve self-respect, to justify our

right to live as we have lived, not as some one else wishes us to live. In the name of freedom we challenge with ships and men, money, and an undaunted spirit, that word "Verboten" which Germany has written upon the sea and upon the land. For America is not the name of so much territory. It is a living spirit, born in travail, grown in the rough school of bitter experiences, a living spirit which has purpose and pride, and conscience — knows why it wishes to live and to what end, knows how it comes to be respected of the world, and hopes to retain that respect by living on with the light of Lincoln's love of man as its Old and New Testament. It is more precious that this America should live than that we Americans should live. And this America, as we now see, has been challenged from the first of this war by the strong arm of a power that has no sympathy with our purpose and will not hesitate to destroy us if the law that we respect, the rights that are to us sacred, or the spirit that we have, stand across her set will to make this world bow before her policies, backed by her organized and scientific military system. The world of Christ — a neglected but not a rejected Christ — has come again face to face with the world of Mahomet, who willed to win by force.

With this background of history and in this sense, then, we fight Germany.

Because of Belgium — invaded, outraged, enslaved, impoverished Belgium. We cannot forget Liège, Louvain, and Cardinal Mercier. Translated into terms of American history, these names stand for Bunker Hill, Lexington, and Patrick Henry.

Because of France — invaded, desecrated France, a million of whose heroic sons have died to save the land of Lafayette. Glorious golden France, the preserver of the arts, the land of noble spirit — the first land to follow our lead into republican liberty.

Because of England — from whom came the laws, tradi-

tions, standards of life, and inherent love of liberty which we call Anglo-Saxon civilization. We defeated her once upon the land and once upon the sea. But Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and Canada are free because of what we
 5 did. And they are with us in the fight for the freedom of the seas.

Because of Russia — New Russia. She must not be overwhelmed now. Not now, surely, when she is just born into freedom. Her peasants must have their chance; they
 10 must go to school to Washington, to Jefferson, and to Lincoln until they know their way about in this new, strange world of government by the popular will.

Because of other peoples, with their rising hope that the world may be freed from government by the soldier.
 15 We are fighting Germany because she sought to terrorize us and then to fool us. We could not believe that Germany would do what she said she would do upon the seas.

We still hear the piteous cries of children coming up out of the sea where the *Lusitania* went down. And Germany
 20 has never asked forgiveness of the world.

We saw the *Sussex* sunk, crowded with the sons and daughters of neutral nations.

We saw ship after ship sent to the bottom — ships of mercy bound out of America for the Belgian starving;
 25 ships carrying the Red Cross and laden with the wounded of all nations; ships carrying food and clothing to friendly, harmless, terrorized peoples; ships flying the Stars and Stripes — sent to the bottom hundreds of miles from shore, manned by American seamen, murdered against all law,
 30 without warning.

We believed Germany's promise that she would respect the neutral flag and the rights of neutrals, and we held our anger and outrage in check. But now we see that she was holding us off with fair promises until she could build her
 35 huge fleet of submarines. For when spring came she blew her promise into the air, just as at the beginning she had

torn up that "scrap of paper." Then we saw clearly that there was but one law for Germany — her will to rule.

We are fighting Germany because she violated our confidence. Paid German spies filled our cities. Officials of her Government, received as the guests of this Nation, ⁵ lived with us to bribe and terrorize, defying our law and the law of nations.

We are fighting Germany because while we were yet her friends — the only great power that still held hands off — she sent the Zimmermann note, calling to her aid Mexico, ¹⁰ our southern neighbor, and hoping to lure Japan, our western neighbor, into war against this Nation of peace.

The nation that would do these things proclaims the gospel that government has no conscience. And this doctrine cannot live, or else democracy must die. For the ¹⁵ nations of the world must keep faith. There can be no living for us in a world where the state has no conscience, no reverence for the things of the spirit, no respect for international law, no mercy for those who fall before its force. What an unordered world! Anarchy! The anarchy of ²⁰ rival wolf packs!

We are fighting Germany because in this war feudalism is making its last stand against on-coming democracy. We see it now. This is a war against an old spirit, an ancient, outworn spirit. It is a war against feudalism — the ²⁵ right of the castle on the hill to rule the village below. It is a war for democracy — the right of all to be their own masters. Let Germany be feudal if she will, but she must not spread her system over the world that has outgrown it. Feudalism plus science, thirteenth century plus twen- ³⁰ tieth — this is the religion of the mistaken Germany that has linked itself with the Turk; that has, too, adopted the method of Mahomet. "The state has no conscience." "The state can do no wrong." With the spirit of the fanatic she believes this gospel and that it is her duty to spread ³⁵ it by force. With poison gas that makes living a hell,

with submarines that sneak through the seas to slyly murder noncombatants, with dirigibles that bombard men and women while they sleep, with a perfected system of terrorization that the modern world first heard of when German troops entered China, German feudalism is making war upon mankind. Let this old spirit of evil have its way and no man will live in America without paying toll to it in manhood and money. This spirit might demand Canada from a defeated, navyless England, and then our dream of peace on the north would be at an end. We would live, as France has lived for forty years, in haunting terror.

America speaks for the world in fighting Germany. Mark on a map those countries which are Germany's allies and you will mark but four, running from the Baltic through Austria and Bulgaria to Turkey. All the other nations the whole globe around are in arms against her or are unable to move. There is deep meaning in this. We fight with the world for an honest world in which nations keep their word, for a world in which nations do not live by swagger or by threat, for a world in which men think of the ways in which they can conquer the common cruelties of nature instead of inventing more horrible cruelties to inflict upon the spirit and body of man, for a world in which the ambition or the philosophy of a few shall not make miserable all mankind, for a world in which the man is held more precious than the machine, the system, or the state.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE OF THE WORLD

By *The World's Work*. (NOVEMBER, 1917)

THERE is a photograph recently published of a column of American soldiers crossing the Thames with the Houses of the British Parliament in the background. These soldiers are part of the American Army gone to Europe to

fight for political liberty against autocracy. The British Parliament is the mother of modern political liberty, and the larger part of its history belongs as much to those American troops and to the rest of us as it does to the people who live in England. From the time of Magna Charta⁵ in 1215 to 1775 we worked out the advance of free institutions together. Since that time we have worked them out separately but along parallel lines. Both nations have considered political liberty as the most vital tenet of existence and both have struggled to increase it at home¹⁰ and extend it abroad. Great Britain has extended a helping hand to the liberal movements in Europe, and we have, under the Monroe Doctrine, guaranteed the opportunity for the people of the Americas to develop their own institutions free from attack by autocracy.

15

In his celebrated pronouncement Monroe let it be known that any attack by autocracy on free institutions in this hemisphere would be met by the armed forces of the United States. When he told the world this decision Monroe knew that he could count on the coöperation of the British²⁰ fleet in enforcing it. The exponents of autocracy at that time knew it, too. And since then every ambitious autocrat has known that if he reached his hand toward the Western Hemisphere it meant the American Army and Navy in front of him and the British fleet behind him —²⁵ and none has tried.

But in 1914 the Kaiser did not know that Great Britain and the United States would come to the defense of political liberty in Europe. He thought that England would stay neutral. He was sure that the United States was so³⁰ afraid of entangling alliances that it would rather see him crush political liberty in Europe than move a hand to defend it. But he was wrong. Liberty is not an ideal that admits of geographical limitations, and autocracy is the kind of beast that must be killed in its lair if even distant³⁵ regions are to be safe. But the Kaiser did not know that

an attack on liberty in Europe meant war by all democracies. If there had been a doctrine of the immunity of liberty in Europe like the Monroe Doctrine here, announced with the same vigor and supported by the same
 5 liberal forces, it is doubtful if the Kaiser would have embarked on war. If after this war there is such a doctrine, it is doubtful if the Kaiser can have a successor. Such a doctrine — the common and immediate defense of political freedom by every liberal country — has not been
 10 announced in words; but when the American troops passed Westminster on their way to France they set the seal of action on a Monroe Doctrine of the world — a union of the Anglo-Saxon and other liberal powers for the defense of democracy.

A JUST AND GENEROUS PEACE °

BY WOODROW WILSON. (1917)

15 GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to retail or even summarize those events. The practical
 20 particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the Executive Departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties, and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we shall hold always in view.
 25 I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and
 30 with a very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of dis-

cussion here in this place is action, and our action must move straight towards definite ends. Our object is, of course, to win the war; and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, When shall we consider the war won?

From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a nation we are united in spirit and intention. I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent, — who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamour of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut their uneasy hour and be forgotten.

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise, — deeply and indignantly impatient, — but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to them

what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable Thing of which the masters of
5 Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we see now so clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed and, if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the
10 friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, that when this thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace, — when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people
15 to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world, — we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice, —
20 justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate,
25 more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abom-
30 inable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities." Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to right of plain men everywhere it has been made diligent use of by the masters of
35 German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray — and the people of every other country their agents could reach,

in order that a premature peace might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson, and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

But the fact that a wrong use has been made of a just idea is no reason why a right use should not be made of it. It ought to be brought under the patronage of its real friends. Let it be said again that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world. It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can Right be set up as arbiter and peace-maker among the nations. But when that has been done, — as, God willing, it assuredly will be, — we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the exclusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors.

Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it. We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own, — over the great Empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan states, over Turkey, and within Asia, — which must be relinquished.

Germany's success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise we did not grudge or oppose, but admired, rather. She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world. We were
 5 content to abide the rivalries of manufacture, science, and commerce that were involved for us in her success and stand or fall as we had or did not have the brains and the initiative to surpass her. But at the moment when she had conspicuously won her triumphs of peace she threw
 10 them away, to establish in their stead what the world will no longer permit to be established, military and political domination by arms, by which to oust where she could not excel the rivals she most feared and hated. The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the
 15 once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent
 20 and alien dominion of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do
 25 with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope to secure for the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and for the
 30 people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties.

And our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany
 35 herself are of a like kind. We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs.

We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principles we have professed to live by and to hold most sacred throughout our life as a nation.

The people of Germany are being told by the men whom 5 they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for the very life and existence of their Empire, a war of desperate self-defense against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false, and we must seek by the utmost openness 10 and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its falseness. We are in fact fighting for their emancipation from fear, along with our own, — from the fear as well as from the fact of unjust attack by neighbors or rivals or schemers after world empire. No one is threatening the 15 existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire.

The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and 20 intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world, men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a 25 partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments. It might be impossible, also, in such untoward circumstances, to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no ag- 30 gression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself, by processes which would assuredly set in.

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war will have to be righted. That of course. But they can not 35 and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs

against Germany and her allies. The world will not permit the commission of similar wrongs as a means of reparation and settlement. Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide
5 awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will dare disregard it by attempting any such covenants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna. The thought of the plain people here and everywhere
10 throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and
15 executed in this midday hour of the world's life. German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the German people were not suffered under their tutelage to share the comradeship of the other peoples of the world either in thought or in purpose. They were
20 allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them. But the Congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that run now in the hearts and consciences of free men everywhere. Its con-
25 clusions will run with those tides.

All these things have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous war; and I can not help thinking that if they had been made plain at the very outset the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have been
30 once for all enlisted on the side of the Allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real and lasting union of purpose effected. Had they believed these things at the very moment of their revolution and had they been confirmed in that belief since, the sad reverses which have recently
35 marked the progress of their affairs towards an ordered and stable government of free men might have been avoided.

The Russian people have been poisoned by the very same falsehoods that have kept the German people in the dark, and the poison has been administered by the very same hands. The only possible antidote is the truth. It can not be uttered too plainly or too often. 5

From every point of view, therefore, it has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January. Our entrance into the war has not altered our attitude towards the settlement 10 that must come when it is over. When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled not only to free pathways upon the sea but also to assured and unmolested access to those pathways I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which 15 need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies as well as our present associates in the war. I was thinking, and am thinking now, of Austria herself, among the rest, as well as of Serbia and of Poland. Justice and equality of 20 rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient.

What shall we do, then, to push this great war of freedom 25 and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit. 30

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Does it seem strange to you that 35 this should be the conclusion of the argument I have just

addressed to you? It is not. It is in fact the inevitable logic of what I have said. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress but simply the vassal of the German Government. We must face the facts as they
5 are and act upon them without sentiment in this stern business. The government of Austria-Hungary is not acting upon its own initiative or in response to the wishes and feelings of its own peoples but as the instrument of another nation. We must meet its force with our own
10 and regard the Central Powers as but one. The war can be successfully conducted in no other way. The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools and do not yet stand in the direct path
15 of our necessary action. We shall go wherever the necessities of this war carry us, but it seems to me that we should go only where immediate and practical considerations lead us and not heed any others.

We can do this with all the greater zeal and enthusiasm
20 because we know that for us this is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation; because we know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live under from corruption and destruction. The purposes of
25 the Central Powers strike straight at the very heart of everything we believe in; their methods of warfare outrage every principle of humanity and of knightly honor; their intrigue has corrupted the very thought and spirit of many of our people; their sinister and secret diplomacy has
30 sought to take our very territory away from us and disrupt the Union of the States. Our safety would be at an end, our honor forever sullied and brought into contempt were we to permit their triumph. They are striking at the very existence of democracy and liberty.

35 It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded

together for the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our 5 friends. The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions. For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired. 10

I have spoken plainly because this seems to me the time when it is most necessary to speak plainly, in order that all the world may know that even in the heat and ardor of the struggle and when our whole thought is of carrying the war through to its end we have not forgotten any ideal or 15 principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations and for which it has been our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us. A supreme moment of history has come. The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of 20 God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.

PEACE

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (1917)

PEACE is not an ideal at all; it is a state attendant upon the achievement of an ideal. The ideal itself is human 25 liberty, justice, and the honorable conduct of an orderly and humane society. Given this, a durable peace follows naturally as a matter of course. Without this, there is no peace, but only a rule of force until liberty and justice revolt against it in search of peace. 30

TO MAKE THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE IN

By *The World's Work*. (JANUARY, 1918)

"LET there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or
5 of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved, I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it."

10 This paragraph was the heart of the President's message. It is a simple fact and is told quickly, but its significance is not measured by its length. And the President's pledge of our determination to fight the war through is given added weight by the declaration of war against
15 Austria-Hungary.

In a large part of the message the President restated our aims in the war, our insistence that Germany "repair," as the President phrases it, the damage she has done, and on the other hand our denial of any intention of exacting
20 indemnities in a spirit of revenge. It is well to keep our motives clear before our Allies and ourselves. But it cannot very much affect what Germany will pay. If she repairs even part of the damage she has done wantonly, purposely, and contrary to the rules of war to Belgium,
25 to northern France, to Serbia, there will not be left the power to pay any indemnity, except of course in territory and people. But none of the Allies in their bitterest moments have ever wanted to incorporate territory peopled by Germans within their borders. The land and the
30 people of Germany must remain. Its ambitions and kultur must go, and the German people must expiate the

crimes which they have committed by restoring the countries which they have wrecked in so far as it is humanly possible. There is little likelihood that they will do this until they are forced to do so, and that is why we are faced with the necessity of gaining a military decision, 5 which is but a pleasanter way of saying that we must kill, capture, or disperse the German armies until they can no longer fight.

When this is done the Germans will all know that the Kaiser and his system have failed them. The legend of 10 German invincibility will be gone. The precedent of 1864, 1866, 1870-71 will be shattered. The German hold on Austria, the Balkans, and Turkey will be broken. There will be no opportunity for another attack on civilization. The world will, for the time anyway, be free from the 15 menace of the German ideal of blood and iron and have an opportunity to begin again, in peace, the effort to perfect social and political systems designed to give all men a chance for mental and material well-being and advancement — to begin again the everlasting and all-important 20 task of trying to make the world a better place to live in.

NATIONAL UNITY°

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (FEBRUARY 16, 1918)

As the result of nearly a century and a half of development and of a Civil War which absorbed the entire energies of the people through four long years, the governmental and the geographic unity of the United States are 25 secure. It is not by any means so clear that there is a corresponding unity of spirit, of purpose and of ideals among the American people themselves. Those differences among men which separate them into political parties, having different policies but a common point of 30 departure and a common goal, are merely incidental and

strengthen rather than weaken national unity. If on the other hand there are within the nation forces and tendencies making for conflicts and antagonisms as to the fundamental purposes for which the nation and its government exist, then there is something to be done and that right away.

The war has brought clearly to view the fact that national unity is endangered, not only by illiteracy, which fact has long been recognized, but by diversity of language with its resulting lack of complete understanding and cooperation. No country can have a homogeneous or a safe basis for its public opinion and its institutions unless these rest upon the foundation of a single language. To protect the national unity and security, no American community should be permitted to substitute any other language for English as the basis or instrument of common school education. Wherever another language has been introduced into the common schools, whether for conscious propaganda or otherwise, it should be ruthlessly stamped out as a wrong against our national unity and our national integrity.

No time should be lost in making adequate provision to teach English to those adult immigrants who are beyond the reach of the elementary school and yet have cast in their lot with the people of the United States. A knowledge of the English language, and evidence of some real understanding of the history and meaning of our institutions, should be required before the privilege of suffrage is conferred upon one who has grown up in another civilization than ours and under another flag than the Stars and Stripes. Public safety is the supreme law, and public safety requires that the safeguarding and the improvement of our institutions be not committed to those who have had no opportunity to gain knowledge of them or to gain sympathy with them.

A still more subtle enemy of the American democracy

is the wide-spread teaching that there is and should be a class struggle between those who have little and those who have more, between those who work with their hands and those who work in other ways. The notion of fixed economic classes that are at war with each other is in flat contradiction to the principles and ideals of democracy. The doctrine of a class conflict was made in Germany, and it represents a notion of social and political organization wholly at variance with the principles and conditions of our American life. In this country we have no fixed economic classes and we desire none. The handworker for wages of today is the employer of tomorrow, and the door of opportunity is so wide open that he who begins in industrial, commercial, or financial service at the bottom of the ladder may by competence and character speedily climb to its very top. Those who teach the justice and the necessity of a class struggle are not believers in democracy. They do not wish to lift all men up; they are bent upon pulling some men down. Their program is one of destruction not construction, of reaction not progress. They do not believe in the equality of men before the law and in the equality of opportunity for all men and all women; they believe in a cruel, relentless, exploiting class. In other words, they believe in privilege and not in free government. Class consciousness and democracy are mutually exclusive. Its logical and necessary result would be to tear up the Declaration of Independence, to destroy the Constitution of the United States, and to put in their stead a Charter of Bedlam under whose provisions might, and might alone, would make right. Every movement and every effort to this end should be challenged peremptorily in the name of the American people, their traditions, and their ideals. It is as vitally important to oppose autocracy in this form as when it comes clad in imperial robes and accompanied with all the instruments of militarism.

NATIONAL TRAINING FOR NATIONAL SERVICE °

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (FEBRUARY 16, 1918)

THE unpreparedness of America alike for war and for peace is now obvious to everybody. It calls upon us to establish without delay a well-ordered system of national training for national service. In no other way can the youth of the nation be instructed and disciplined for purposes of national defense, or imbued with a spirit of national devotion that will break down all limitations of race origin, of language, and of local patriotism, or given an adequate chance to fit themselves for useful and productive life work in truly democratic fashion. It has long been the policy of the several States to protect themselves and their citizens from the evils and the dangers that are characteristic of illiteracy and that accompany lack of intellectual and moral discipline, by requiring attendance upon the elementary school for a definitely prescribed period. In this same spirit and on similar grounds, the nation should now say to each youth approaching manhood that, for part of one year or of two successive years, he must submit himself for a definite period to instruction and training under direct national supervision and control, in order that three distinct purposes may be accomplished — first, that he may, in association with youth of like age, get a new and vivid sense of the meaning and obligations of citizenship; second, that he may be physically and intellectually prepared to take part in his country's service or his country's defense should occasion ever arise; third, that specific direction may be given to his capacities and powers, so that he may be better prepared than would otherwise be the case for useful and productive citizenship. If it be objected that this is too large a task, the answer is that it involves the training in any one year of only about as

many individuals as are now annually enrolled in the public school systems of New York and Chicago and that the nation's security depends upon its accomplishment.

The first of these aims involves the building of the nation, strong and firm, out of the many divergent elements ⁵ that have now entered into its composition, particularly in the large cities and on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard. A call to citizenship so direct and so imperative would in most cases quite outweigh the prejudices and prepossessions that alien birth or alien sympathies may have created. ¹⁰ The second of these aims would, when accomplished, provide us with a trained citizen soldiery similar to that of Switzerland, without any large standing army, without any militaristic spirit or ambitions, and without interrupting, save to its advantage, the ordinary course of a young ¹⁵ man's preparation and entrance upon the active duties of life. The third of these aims would be a powerful contribution to the world-wide problem of vocational training. It would fit men to do better that for which they have natural capacity, and it would multiply the economic ²⁰ power of the nation.

It seems an entirely safe prediction that were this system established, its advantages would be so obvious and so direct that there would be a quick demand to make similar provision for the national training of young women ²⁵ as well.

The nation has just expended tens of millions of dollars in the building of cantonments in different parts of the country. These cantonments are now the homes of the hundreds of thousands of citizen soldiers who are being ³⁰ prepared to take their part in the war. Why should not these cantonments be made permanent? Why should not the money expended upon them be made continuously productive by using these camps for the training of the youth of the land for national service during a portion of ³⁵ each year?

When the war shall end, the governments will be faced by the problems of demobilization. It has been estimated that there are now thirty-five million men under arms. The task of demobilizing these unprecedented armies and
5 of returning their members to industrial, to commercial, and to professional life will be far more serious than has been the task of their mobilization, and fraught with even graver economic and political dangers and perils. Might it not be possible to have the American national
10 army demobilized by a process just the reverse of that by which it has been brought together? Might not the returning armies be brought back to the national cantonments before being disbanded, in order that then and there those soldiers who were found to need assistance or
15 further training might receive it before being cast as derelicts upon society? In these several cantonments it would be quite practicable to install the necessary equipment for training men in at least some of those numerous trades and occupations that are necessary to the support of
20 armies. It has been estimated that there are nearly two hundred such trades and occupations. A few months, or even a few weeks, of instruction bestowed upon these men when the time of demobilization comes, might easily save them and the nation itself incalculable suffering and loss
25 later on. The example of France shows what beneficent arrangements may be made, through an undertaking of this kind, to render self-supporting many of those who have been grievously wounded or maimed in the war.

The American people will be slow to accept a plan of
30 national training for national service if it is presented solely from the military point of view, because, offered in that way, it runs counter to the deep convictions of many persons. If, on the other hand, it is presented from this larger, more constructive, and more catholic point of
35 view, it will, perhaps, commend itself to those men and women of our land who long to see the nation still more

completely unified in spirit, in purpose, and in loyalty, and who look with dismay upon the large number of youth who drift every year into the active work of life without either adequate or specific preparation and with no notion of their national obligations. It may be questioned whether any single step in advance more helpful than this could be taken by our government at the present time.

THE NEWSPAPER °

BY PROFESSOR F. N. SCOTT. (MARCH 6, 1918)

MIRROR of the public mind; interpreter of the public intent; troubler of the public conscience.

Reflector of every human interest; furtherer of every righteous cause; encourager of every generous act. 10

Bearer of intelligence; dispeller of ignorance and prejudice; a light shining into all dark places.

Promoter of civic welfare and civic pride; bond of civic unity; protector of civic rights. 15

Scourge of evil doers; exposor of secret iniquities; unrelenting foe of privilege and corruption.

Voice of the lowly and oppressed; advocate of the friendless; righter of private and public wrongs.

Chronicler of facts; sifter of rumors and opinions; minister of the truth that makes men free. 20

Reporter of the new; remembrancer of the old and tried; herald of what is to come.

Defender of civil liberty; strengthener of loyalty; pillar and stay of democratic government. 25

Upbuilder of the home; nourisher of the community spirit; art, letters, and science of the common people.

[These are set forth as the ideals of an American newspaper.

Why not the ideals of every American citizen? 30

The editor.]

"FORCE TO THE UTMOST" °

BY WOODROW WILSON. (APRIL 6, 1918)

FELLOW CITIZENS: This is the anniversary of our acceptance of Germany's challenge to fight for our right to live and be free, and for the sacred rights of free men everywhere. The Nation is awake. There is no need
5 to call to it. We know what the war must cost, our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men and, if need be, all that we possess. The loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called upon to give and to do, though in itself imperative. The people of
10 the whole country are alive to the necessity of it, and are ready to lend to the utmost, even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meagre earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will not, upon those who de-
15 mand a higher rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transaction. I have not come, therefore, to urge the loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

The reasons for this great war, the reason why it had
20 to come, the need to fight it through, and the issues that hang upon its outcome, are more clearly disclosed now than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular loan means because the Cause we are fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis
25 of the momentous struggle. The man who knows least can now see plainly how the cause of Justice stands and what the imperishable thing is he is asked to invest in. Men in America may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own, and that, if it should be
30 lost, their own great Nation's place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

I call you to witness, my fellow countrymen, that at

no stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive purpose. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen, and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is that they seek.

We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonor our own cause. For we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered, answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

The avowal has not come from Germany's statesmen. It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said, —

in indefinite and uncertain terms, indeed, and in phrases that often seem to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent, — that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles
 5 which we had declared would be our own in the final settlement. At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own alle-
 10 giances. But action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We cannot mistake what they have done, — in Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine,
 15 in Roumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From this we may judge the rest. They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for the time at their mercy.
 20 Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandizement and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion!

25 Are we not justified in believing that they would do the same things at their western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If, when they have felt their check to be final, they should propose favorable
 30 and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East?

Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic
 35 peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and

misruled, subject to their will and ambition and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy, — an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe, — an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East. In such a programme our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That programme once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the World, a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden under foot and disregarded, and the old age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpitiful thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready,

ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed, — a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from
 5 the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with
 10 which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring
 15 true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether Justice and peace
 20 shall reign in the affairs of men, whether Right as America conceives it or Dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us. Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit, the righteous and
 25 triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

THE AMERICAN'S CREED °

BY WILLIAM TYLER PAGE. (APRIL 6, 1918)

I BELIEVE in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the gov-
 30 erned; a democracy in a Republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States: a perfect Union, one and in-

separable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.

"GASSING" THE WORLD'S MIND °

WHAT A FATHER TOLD HIS SON

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS. (APRIL 24, 1918)

MY DEAR SON: Perhaps, recalling the many speeches you have heard me make upon America's duty to the whole world and the perils of our provincialism, you will think it strange that I put first the danger to civilization from the current "internationalism." I can imagine what your radical young professor of social science would say to my indictment! But he lives in a world of books, and I have just come out of Russia. He knows the theory; I know the thing. And this cult of "internationalism," which is sweeping sentimentalists in many lands away from whatever moorings they once had, is, bluntly, a worse menace to the whole world's welfare than Prussianism itself.

It is an attempt to reduce all integers to ciphers and then add them up and find the sum of perfection.

It hopes to make everybody a nobody, and then suddenly produce the perfect man and the perfect state.

Do you remember that passage in one of Stevenson's essays wherein he describes the thrifty Scotch grocer who, at a sale, bought a job lot of odds and ends of liquors and then poured them into a common vat? When asked what he was making, he replied that he did not rightly know, but he thought it would turn out port! So your "internationalists" think they can mix good and bad,

ripe and green, black and yellow, white and brown, old and new, educated and ignorant, and out of all this queer commingling get a newer, higher order of being!

In America these sentimentalists are fond of quoting
 5 the Bible verse which says that God has "made of one blood all nations . . . of the earth," forgetting that the same verse continues, "And hath determined aforetime the bounds of their habitation." The big fact of the entire Bible misses them — namely, that it is a book of a Chosen
 10 People. Providence did its best by the whole world by doing its best by one peculiar nation.

It was in Russia, which is fairly rotten with this specious idea, that I came to see clearly that "internationalism" is fundamentally a vast disloyalty. It breaks old alle-
 15 giances and offers none that are new or better. For up to date the only way a man can be loyal to the race as a whole is by loyalty to that section of it of which he is a part. In life, as in mathematics, the whole is but equal to the sum of its parts; and if certain of our present-day
 20 reformers would give over trying to transform the universe and confine themselves to effecting some substantial improvement in that infinitesimal fragment of it which lives within their own clothes, they would have a task more commensurate with their powers and likelier to promote
 25 the general result desired. Have you noticed how relatively few of the very vocal makers-over of the world have achieved personalities for themselves? How much greater service was done for his generation by such men as your dear old doctor grandfather, who never preached
 30 a word, but lived a life and did a work and stood fast for honor and died like a gentleman and a patriot? "Internationalism" as I noticed it in Russia was, wittingly or unwittingly, only a cloak for mental and moral laziness. It meant a repudiation of clear and tangible and undoubted
 35 obligations to the people of the country and to its national allies. These poor dreamers acted as if they thought

that they could build up humanity by wrecking Russia. If I am not mistaken, it will yet prove the greatest dis-service ever done by one nation to the whole world. While it may be only the mist that precedes the sunrise, I very much fear that it is a fog of death. 5

So for you, my boy, I prescribe patriotism — passionate, pulsing, purposeful patriotism. Be sure that every atom you contribute to the well-being of America is the most direct service you can render to the human race as a whole. Every brick built into her walls is like a founda- 10 tion stone for the entire world. Whatever you do to help your country to fulfill her highest destiny is the straightest contribution you can make to the well-being of mankind. And any act of recreancy to America is black disloyalty to all the little peoples and weak peoples who are leaning 15 upon her for support and guidance. As one who has traveled over more of this earth's surface than most men, I solemnly declare to you, my son, that the best internationalist to-day is the true American. Even in this immediate matter of the Germans, the men who are 20 facing them in the trenches are truer friends of Germany than the muddy-minded Russians who have been fraternizing with them instead of fighting them.

Seriously as I believe that this perverted doctrine of "internationalism" is a poison gas, so also am I con- 25 vinced, in the second place, that the prevalent hysteria about the destruction of life as the supreme ill is born of materialism. There is no denying that up until this year, at least, modern America had become a coddler of the carcass. Mere prolongation of physical existence had 30 come to be accepted as the supreme boon. Pain was the king of terrors. Suffering was more odious than sin. Our writers and speakers vied with one another in painting the horrors of war and the terrors of death. Destruction of life was held to be the most dreadful of evils. 35 "Safety first" had become a National slogan, echoed from

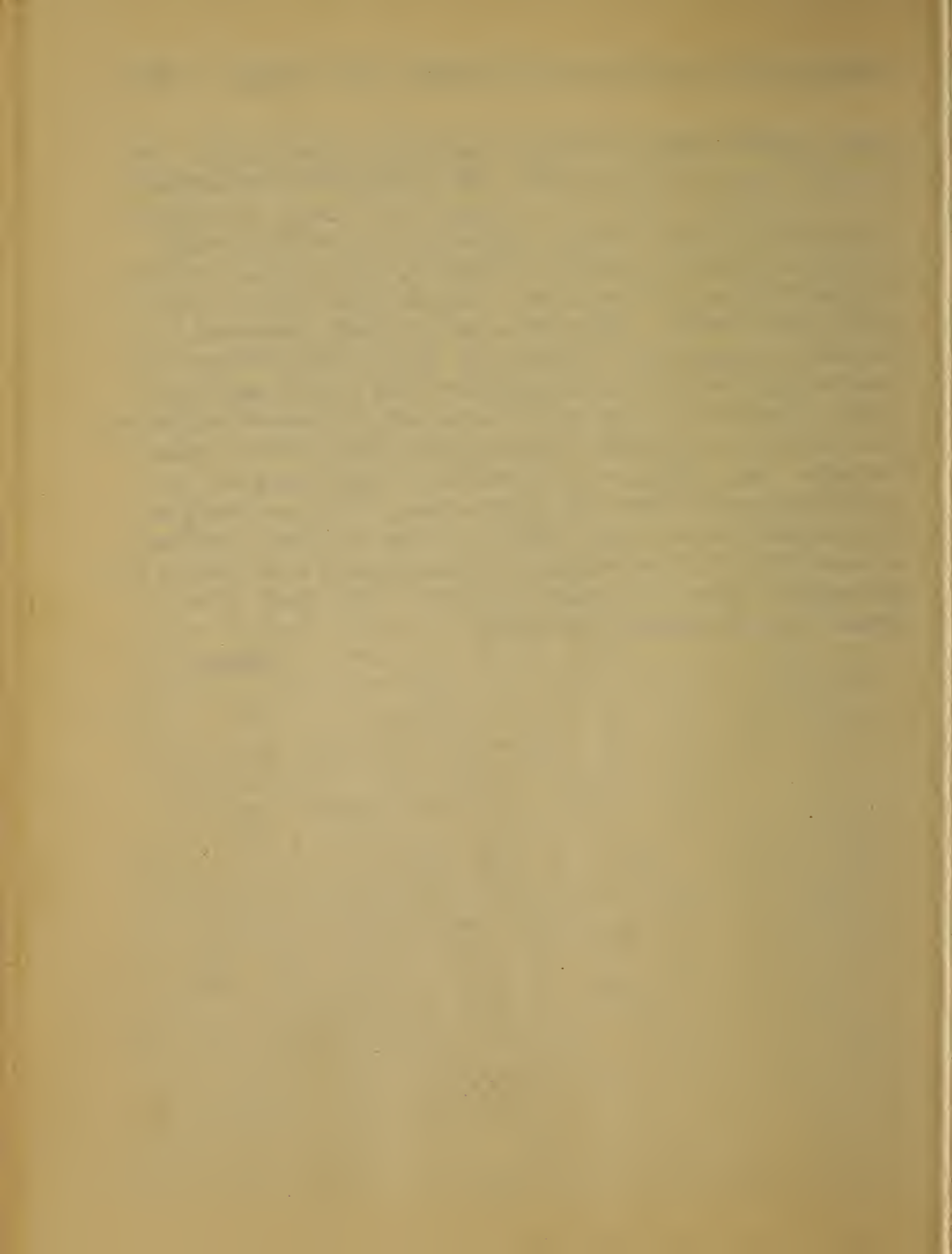
the souls of the timorous and the body-loving. This dangerous doctrine was as poison in the system of the people.

I throw down the challenge to that theory. Better —
 5 far, far better — is it that three-fourths of the race should perish than that all should live in cowardice and corruption of spirit. There are a thousand worse fates than being dead. Why is it that in all of big Russia the one
 10 element of hope, the one steadfast and loyal group, are the Cossacks, who despise life as a prize and covet a warrior's death? Is it not the death-defying soul of France that has made her the hero nation of this war? One of the blessings of the peace which lies ahead of us is that we shall rebreed from a race of men who have subordinated
 15 the body and have jauntily flung it over the top into the teeth of destruction. If I at all understand the genius of the Christian religion, it is the spirit of the Cross, which represents the free and lavish offering up of the most precious Life for the sake of love and loyalty and righteousness.
 20 There is no need for me to tell you, what you already know, that I would rather see you dead than a cowering, fearful seeker after the safety of self.

Let me reassure you about death. On this subject I write with a firm pen. I have seen and heard and felt
 25 death; once, you recall, after the violent disaster which permanently disabled me, I passed through what the doctors called all the physical experiences of the dissolution of spirit and body. No man alive has suffered more exquisite physical pain than I. Also, for long hours on
 30 end, and repeatedly, I have been under fire, listening to the marvelous orchestra of battle. I have faced death from airplanes and from submarines, from bandits and from plagues. In fact, death and I have become a sort of playfellows: and he is far better company than some of
 35 fairer repute. All who know him best will agree with me that he is not to be dreaded. You will understand me

when I declare that no man on earth has more reason to live than I, or less fear to die. My religion has simmered down to a simple faith in a loving God who is more interested in the spirits of men than he is in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, the Five Points of Calvinism, or the 5 Methodist Book of Discipline. All his plans for us must include two worlds. His character is so well expressed by the father nature that he gave us Jesus to show men in sublime and untheological simplicity how to live and how to die. God surely expects his other sons likewise to enter 10 into his many mansions as gentlemen, conscious of their character and obligations. Death is only the great revealer and great solver and great uniter. You are not the sort to make either your earthly or your heavenly Father ashamed of you by exalting your comfort and convenience 15 above your character and convictions. The man who is afraid to die is scarcely fit to live.

DADDY.



PART TWO

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM IN VERSE



INDEPENDENCE BELL ° (JULY 4, 1776)

ANONYMOUS

THERE was tumult in the city,
In the quaint old Quaker town,
And the streets were rife with people
Pacing restless up and down ;
People gathering at the corners,
Where they whispered each to each,
And the sweat stood on their temples
With the earnestness of speech.

5

As the bleak Atlantic currents
Lash the wild Newfoundland shore,
So they beat against the State House,
So they surged against the door ;
And the mingling of their voices
Made the harmony profound,
Till the quiet street of Chestnut
Was all turbulent with sound.

10

15

"Will they do it?" "Dare they do it?"
"Who is speaking?" "What's the news?"
"What of Adams?" "What of Sherman?"
"Oh, God grant they won't refuse!"
"Make some way there!" "Let me nearer!"
"I am stifling!" "Stifle, then!"
When a nation's life's at hazard,
We've no time to think of men!"

20

So they surged against the State House,
While all solemnly inside,
Sat the "Continental Congress,"
Truth and reason for their guide;
5 O'er a simple scroll debating,
Which, though simple it might be,
Yet should shake the cliffs of England
With the thunders of the free.

Far aloft in that high steeple
10 Sat the bellman, old and gray;
He was weary of the tyrant
And his iron-sceptered sway:
So he sat, with one hand ready
On the clapper of the bell,
15 When his eye could catch the signal,
The expected news to tell.

See! See! The dense crowd quivers
Through all its lengthy line,
As the boy beside the portal
20 Hastens forth to give the sign!
With his little hands uplifted,
Breezes dallying with his hair —
Hark! with deep, clear intonation,
Breaks his young voice on the air.

Hushed the people's swelling murmur,
25 Whilst the boy cries joyously:
"Ring!" he shouts, "Ring, grandpapa!
Ring! oh, ring for Liberty!"
Quickly, at the given signal,
30 The old bellman lifts his hand;
Forth he sends the good news, making
Iron music through the land.

How they shouted! What rejoicing!

How the old bell shook the air,
Till the clang of freedom ruffled
The calmly gliding Delaware!
How the bonfires and the torches
Lighted up the night's repose,
And from flames, like fabled Phœnix,
Our glorious liberty arose!

5

That old State House bell is silent,
Hushed is now its clamorous tongue;
But the spirit it awakened

10

Still is living — ever young:
And when we greet the smiling sunlight

On the Fourth of each July,
We will ne'er forget the bellman
Who, betwixt the earth and sky,
Rang out, loudly, "Independence!"
Which, please God, shall never die!

15

HAIL, COLUMBIA (1798)

BY JOSEPH HOPKINSON °

HAIL, Columbia! happy land!

Hail, ye heroes! heaven-born band!

20

Who fought and bled in Freedom's cause,
Who fought and bled in Freedom's cause,
And when the storm of war was gone,
Enjoyed the peace your valor won.

Let independence be our boast,
Ever mindful what it cost;
Ever grateful for the prize,
Let its altar reach the skies.

25

Firm, united, let us be,
 Rallying round our Liberty ;
 As a band of brothers joined,
 Peace and safety we shall find.

5 Immortal patriots ! rise once more :
 Defend your rights, defend your shore :
 Let no rude foe, with impious hand,
 Let no rude foe, with impious hand,
 Invade the shrine where sacred lies
 10 Of toil and blood the well-earned prize.
 While offering peace sincere and just,
 In Heaven we place a manly trust
 That truth and justice will prevail,
 And every scheme of bondage fail.

15 Firm, united, etc.

Sound, sound, the trump of Fame !
 Let WASHINGTON's great name
 Ring through the world with loud applause,
 Ring through the world with loud applause ;
 20 Let every clime to Freedom dear,
 Listen with a joyful ear.
 With equal skill, and godlike power,
 He governed in the fearful hour
 Of horrid war ; or guides, with ease,
 25 The happier times of honest peace.

Firm, united, etc.

Behold the chief who now commands,
 Once more to serve his country, stands —
 The rock on which the storm will beat,
 30 The rock on which the storm will beat :
 But, armed in virtue firm and true,

His hopes are fixed on Heaven and you.
 When hope was sinking in dismay,
 And glooms obscured Columbia's day,
 His steady mind, from changes free,
 Resolved on death or liberty.

5

Firm, united, let us be,
 Rallying round our Liberty ;
 As a band of brothers joined,
 Peace and safety we shall find.

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER (1814)

BY FRANCIS SCOTT KEY °

OH, say, can you see, by the dawn's early light, 10
 What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleam-
 ing?
 Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous
 fight,
 O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly stream-
 ing!
 And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
 Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there ; 15
 Oh, say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
 O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave?

On that shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
 Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
 What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep, 20
 As it fitfully blows, now conceals, now discloses?
 Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
 In full glory reflected now shines on the stream ;
 'Tis the star-spangled banner ; oh, long may it wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave ! 25

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
 That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
 A home and a country should leave us no more?

Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.

5 No refuge could save the hireling and slave
 From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave;
 And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
 O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

Oh, thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
 10 Between their loved homes and the war's desolation!
 Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the heaven-rescued
 land

Praise the Pow'r that hath made and preserved us a
 nation.

Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
 And this be our motto — "*In God is our trust*":

15 And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
 O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

THE AMERICAN FLAG (1819)

BY JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE °

WHEN Freedom from her mountain height,
 Unfurled her standard to the air,
 She tore the azure robe of night,
 20 And set the stars of glory there.
 She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
 The milky baldric of the skies,
 And striped its pure, celestial white
 With streakings of the morning light;
 25 Then from his mansion in the sun

She called her eagle-bearer down,
 And gave into his mighty hand
 The symbol of her chosen land.

Majestic monarch of the cloud,
 Who rear'st aloft thy regal form, 5
 To hear the tempest-trumpings loud,
 And see the lightning lances driven,
 When strive the warriors of the storm,
 And rolls the thunder drum of heaven,
 Child of the sun! to thee 'tis given 10
 To guard the banner of the free,
 To hover in the sulphur smoke,
 To ward away the battle stroke,
 And bid its blendings shine afar,
 Like rainbows on the cloud of war, 15
 The harbingers of victory!

Flag of the brave! Thy folds shall fly,
 The sign of hope and triumph high!
 When speaks the signal trumpet tone,
 And the long line comes gleaming on. 20
 Ere yet the life-blood, warm and wet,
 Has dimmed the glistening bayonet,
 Each soldier eye shall brightly turn
 To where thy sky-born glories burn,
 And, as his springing steps advance, 25
 Catch war and vengeance from the glance.
 And when the cannon-mouthings loud
 Heave in wild wreaths the battle shroud,
 And gory sabres rise and fall
 Like sheets of flame on midnight's pall, 30
 Then shall thy meteor glances glow,
 And cowering foes shall sink beneath
 Each gallant arm that strikes below
 That lovely messenger of death.

5 Flag of the seas! On ocean wave
 Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave;
 When death, careering on the gale,
 Sweeps darkly round the bellied sail,
 And frightened waves rush wildly back
 Before the broadside's reeling rack,
 Each dying wanderer of the sea
 Shall look at once to heaven and thee,
 10 And smile to see thy splendors fly
 In triumph o'er his closing eye.

15 Flag of the free heart's hope and home!
 By angel hands to valor given;
 Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
 And all thy hues were born in heaven.
 And fixed as yonder orb divine,
 That saw thy bannered blaze unfurled,
 Shall thy proud stars resplendent shine,
 The guard and glory of the world.
 Forever float that standard sheet!
 20 Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
 With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
 And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us?

AMERICA (1832)

BY SAMUEL FRANCIS SMITH^o

25 My country, 'tis of thee,
 Sweet land of liberty,
 Of thee I sing;
 Land where my fathers died,
 Land of the pilgrims' pride,
 From every mountain-side
 Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free —
Thy name I love ;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills ; 5
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees,
Sweet Freedom's song ; 10
Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake,
Let rocks their silence break —
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to Thee, 15
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing ;
Long may our land be bright
With Freedom's holy light ;
Protect us by Thy might, 20
Great God, our King.

CONCORD HYMN (1836)

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON °

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world. 25

The foe long since in silence slept ;
Alike the conqueror silent sleeps ;

And Time the ruined bridge has swept
Down the dark stream which seaward creeps.

On this green bank, by this soft stream,
We set to-day a votive stone ;
5 That memory may their dead redeem,
When, like our sires, our sons are gone.

Spirit, that made those heroes dare
To die, and leave their children free,
Bid Time and Nature gently spare
10 . The shaft we raise to them and thee.

THE BATTLE-FIELD (1837)

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT °

ONCE this soft turf, this rivulet's sands,
Were trampled by a hurrying crowd,
And fiery hearts and armèd hands
Encountered in the battle-cloud.

15 Ah ! never shall the land forget
How gushed the life-blood of her brave —
Gushed, warm with hope and courage yet,
Upon the soil they fought to save.

Now all is calm, and fresh, and still ;
20 Alone the chirp of flitting bird,
And talk of children on the hill,
And bell of wandering kine are heard.

No solemn host goes trailing by
The black-mouthed gun and staggering wain ;
25 Men start not at the battle-cry,
Oh, be it never heard again !

Soon rested those who fought ; but thou
 Who minglest in the harder strife
 For truths which men receive not now,
 Thy warfare only ends with life.

A friendless warfare ! lingering long 5
 Through weary day and weary year,
 A wild and many-weaponed throng
 Hang on thy front, and flank, and rear.

Yet nerve thy spirit to the proof,
 And blench not at thy chosen lot. 10
 The timid good may stand aloof,
 The sage may frown — yet faint thou not.

Nor heed the shaft too surely cast,
 The foul and hissing bolt of scorn ;
 For with thy side shall dwell, at last, 15
 The victory of endurance born.

Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again ;
 The eternal years of God are hers ;
 But Error, wounded, writhes in pain,
 And dies among his worshippers. 20

Yea, though thou lie upon the dust
 When they who helped thee flee in fear,
 Die full of hope and manly trust,
 Like those who fell in battle here.

Another hand thy sword shall wield, 25
 Another hand the standard wave,
 Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
 The blast of triumph o'er thy grave.

COLUMBIA, THE GEM OF THE OCEAN (1843)

BY DAVID T. SHAW AND THOMAS À BECKET °

O COLUMBIA, the gem of the ocean,
 The Home of the brave and the free,
 The shrine of each patriot's devotion,
 A world offers homage to thee!
 5 Thy mandates make heroes assemble,
 When Liberty's form stands in view;
 Thy banners make Tyranny tremble,
 When borne by the red, white and blue.

Chorus

When borne by the red, white, and blue,
 10 When borne by the red, white, and blue,
 Thy banners make Tyranny tremble,
 When borne by the red, white, and blue.

When war winged its wide desolation
 And threatened the land to deform,
 15 The ark then of Freedom's foundation,
 Columbia, rode safe thro' the storm;
 With her garlands of vict'ry around her,
 When so proudly she bore her brave crew,
 With her flag proudly floating before her,
 20 The boast of the red, white, and blue. — *Cho.*

The wine cup, the wine cup bring hither,
 And fill you it true to the brim;
 May the wreaths they have won never wither,
 Nor the star of their glory grow dim!
 25 May the service united ne'er sever,
 But they to their colors prove true!
 The Army and Navy forever!
 Three cheers for the red, white, and blue! — *Cho.*

STANZAS ON FREEDOM (1843)

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL °

MEN! whose boast it is that ye
 Come of fathers brave and free,
 If there breathe on earth a slave,
 Are ye truly free and brave?
 If ye do not feel the chain, 5
 When it works a brother's pain,
 Are ye not base slaves indeed,
 Slaves unworthy to be freed?

Women! who shall one day bear
 Sons to breathe New England air, 10
 If ye hear, without a blush,
 Deeds to make the roused blood rush
 Like red lava through your veins,
 For your sisters now in chains —
 Answer! are ye fit to be 15
 Mothers of the brave and free?

Is true Freedom but to break
 Fetters for our own dear sake,
 And, with leathern hearts, forget
 That we owe mankind a debt? 20
 No! true freedom is to share
 All the chains our brothers wear,
 And, with heart and hand, to be
 Earnest to make others free.

They are slaves who fear to speak 25
 For the fallen and the weak;
 They are slaves who will not choose
 Hatred, scoffing, and abuse

Rather than in silence shrink
 From the truth they needs must think;
 They are slaves who dare not be
 In the right with two or three.

THE PRESENT CRISIS (1844)

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

[This poem was written in 1844, when the annexation of Texas was a topic of general discussion.]

- 5 WHEN a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad
 earth's aching breast
 Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to
 west,
 And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within
 him climb
 To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
 Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of
 Time.
- 10 Through the walls of hut and palace shoots the instan-
 taneous throe,
 When the travail of the Ages wrings earth's systems to
 and fro;
 At the birth of each new Era, with a recognizing start,
 Nation wildly looks at nation, standing with mute lips
 apart,
 And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child leaps beneath
 the Future's heart.
- 15 So the Evil's triumph sendeth, with a terror and a chill,
 Under continent to continent, the sense of coming ill,
 And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels his sympathies
 with God

In hot tear-drops ebbing earthward, to be drunk up by
the sod,
Till a corpse crawls round unburied, delving in the nobler
clod.

For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right
or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast
frame 5
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or
shame —
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to de-
cide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil
side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the
bloom or blight, 10
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the
right.
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and
that light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou
shalt stand,
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust
against our land?
Though the cause of Evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is
strong, 15
And, albeit she wanders outcast now, I see around her
throng
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to enshield her from all
wrong.

Backward look across the ages and the beacon-moments
see,

That, like peaks of some sunk continent, jut through
Oblivion's sea;

Not an ear in court or market for the low foreboding cry
Of those Crises, God's stern winnowers, from whose feet
earth's chaff must fly;

5 Never shows the choice momentous till the judgment
hath passed by.

Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but
record

One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and
the Word;

Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the
throne —

Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim
unknown,

10 Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above
his own.

We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is
great,

Slow of faith how weak an army may turn the iron helm of
fate,

But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave
within —

15 "They enslave their children's children who make com-
promise with sin."

Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops, fellest of the giant brood,
Sons of brutish Force and Darkness, who have drenched
the earth with blood,

Famished in his self-made desert, blinded by our purer
day,

Gropes in yet unblasted regions for his miserable prey —
 Shall we guide his gory fingers where our helpless children
 play?

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her
 wretched crust,
 Ere her cause bring fame and profit and 'tis prosperous
 to be just;
 Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands
 aside,
 Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,
 And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had
 denied. 5

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes — they were souls
 that stood alone,
 While the men they agonized for hurled the contumelious
 stone,
 Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam
 incline 10
 To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith
 divine,
 By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's su-
 preme design.

By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I
 track,
 Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns
 not back,
 And these mounts of anguish number how each generation
 learned 15
 One new word of that great *Credo* which in prophet-hearts
 hath burned
 Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to
 heaven upturned.

For Humanity sweeps onward: where today the martyr
stands,

On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his
hands;

Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling
fagots burn,

While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return

5 To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.

'Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the idle slaves

Of a legendary virtue carved upon our fathers' graves,

Worshippers of light ancestral make the present light a
crime —

Was the Mayflower launched by cowards, steered by men
behind their time?

10 Turn those tracks toward Past or Future, that make
Plymouth Rock sublime?

They were men of present valor, stalwart old iconoclasts,
Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that all virtue was the
Past's;

But we make their truth our falsehood, thinking that
hath made us free,

Hoarding it in moldy parchments, while our tender spirits
flee

15 The rude grasp of that great Impulse which drove them
across the sea.

They have rights who dare maintain them; we are traitors
to our sires,

Smothering in their holy ashes Freedom's new-lit altar-fires;
Shall we make their creed our jailer? Shall we, in our

haste to slay,

From the tombs of the old prophets steal the funeral
lamps away

20 To light up the martyr-fagots round the prophets of to-
day?

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient
 good uncouth;
 They must upward still, and onward, who would keep
 abreast of Truth;
 Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must
 Pilgrims be,
 Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the des-
 perate winter sea,
 Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-
 rusted key.

5

THE SHIP OF STATE (1849)

BY HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW °

THOU, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
 Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!
 Humanity with all its fears,
 With all the hopes of future years
 Is hanging breathless on thy fate! 10
 We know what Master laid thy keel,
 What Workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
 Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
 What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
 In what a forge and what a heat 15
 Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
 Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
 'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
 'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
 And not a rent made by the gale! 20
 In spite of rock and tempest's roar
 In spite of false lights on the shore,
 Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
 Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
 Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears, 25
 Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
 Are all with thee — are all with thee!

BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC (1861)

BY JULIA WARD HOWE °

MINE eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the
Lord :

He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath
are stored ;

He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift
sword ;

His truth is marching on.

5 I have seen Him in the watch fires of a hundred circling
camps :

They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and
damps ;

I can see His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring
lamps :

His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel :

10 "As ye deal with My contemnners, so with you My grace
shall deal ;

Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his
heel,

Since God is marching on."

He hath sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call
retreat ;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment
seat.

15 Oh ! be swift, my soul, to answer Him ! be jubilant, my
feet !

Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
 With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;
 As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
 While God is marching on.

UNION AND LIBERTY (1861)

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES °

FLAG of the heroes who left us their glory,	5
Borne through their battlefields' thunder and flame,	
Blazoned in song and illumined in story,	
Wave o'er us all who inherit their fame!	
Up with our banner bright,	
Sprinkled with starry light,	10
Spread its fair emblems from mountain to shore,	
While through the sounding sky	
Loud rings the Nation's cry —	
UNION AND LIBERTY! ONE EVERMORE!	
Light of our firmament, guide of our Nation,	15
Pride of her children, and honored afar,	
Let the wide beams of thy full constellation	
Scatter each cloud that would darken a star!	
Up with our banner bright, etc.	
Empire unsceptred! what foe shall assail thee,	20
Bearing the standard of Liberty's van?	
Think not the God of thy fathers shall fail thee,	
Striving with men for the birthright of man!	
Up with our banner bright, etc.	
Yet if, by madness and treachery blighted,	25
Dawns the dark hour when the sword thou must draw,	

Then with the arms of thy millions united,
 Smite the bold traitors to Freedom and Law!
 Up with our banner bright, etc.

Lord of the Universe! shield us and guide us,
 5 Trusting Thee always, through shadow and sun!
 Thou hast united us, who shall divide us?
 Keep us, oh, keep us the MANY IN ONE!
 Up with our banner bright,
 Sprinkled with starry light,
 10 Spread its fair emblems from mountain to shore,
 While through the sounding sky
 Loud rings the Nation's cry, —
 UNION AND LIBERTY! ONE EVERMORE!

BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM (1861)

BY GEORGE F. ROOT °

YES, we'll rally 'round the flag, boys, we'll rally once
 again,
 15 Shouting the battle-cry of freedom;
 We will rally from the hillside, we'll gather from the plain,
 Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

Chorus

The Union forever, hurrah, boys, hurrah!
 Down with the traitor, up with the star,
 20 While we rally 'round the flag, boys, rally once again,
 Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

We are springing to the call of our brothers gone before,
 Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

And we'll fill the vacant ranks with a million freemen more,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

Chorus

We will welcome to our numbers the loyal, true, and brave,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.
And altho' they may be poor, not a man shall be a slave, 5
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

Chorus

So we're springing to the call from the East and from the
West,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom,
And we'll hurl the rebel crew from the land we love the
best,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom. 10

Chorus

THE SWORD OF BUNKER HILL (1861)

BY WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE °

HE lay upon his dying bed ;
His eye was growing dim,
When with a feeble voice he called
His weeping son to him :
"Weep not, my boy !" the vet'ran said, 15
"I bow to Heaven's high will —
But quickly from yon antlers bring
The sword of Bunker Hill."

The sword was brought, the soldier's eye
Lit with a sudden flame ; 20
And as he grasped the ancient blade,
He murmured Warren's name ;

Then said, "My boy, I leave you gold —
 But what is richer still,
 I leave you, mark me, mark me now —
 The sword of Bunker Hill.

5 "T was on that dread, immortal day,
 I dared the Briton's band,
 A captain raised this blade on me —
 I tore it from his hand :
 And while the glorious battle raged,
 10 It lightened freedom's will —
 For, boy, the God of freedom blessed
 The sword of Bunker Hill.

"Oh, keep the sword!" — his accents broke —
 A smile — and he was dead —
 15 But his wrinkled hand still grasped the blade
 Upon that dying bed.
 The son remains; the sword remains —
 Its glory growing still —
 And twenty millions bless the sire,
 20 And sword of Bunker Hill.

THE REVOLUTIONARY RISING (1862)

BY THOMAS BUCHANAN READ °

Out of the North the wild news came,
 Far flashing on its wings of flame,
 Swift as the boreal light which flies
 At midnight through the startled skies.
 25 And there was tumult in the air,
 The fife's shrill note, the drum's loud beat,
 And through the wide land everywhere
 The answering tread of hurrying feet;

While the first oath of Freedom's gun
 Came on the blast from Lexington;
 And Concord, roused, no longer tame,
 Forgot her old baptismal name,
 Made bare her patriot arm of power, 5
 And swelled the discord of the hour.
 Within its shade of elm and oak
 The church of Berkeley Manor stood;

There Sunday found the rural folk,
 And some esteemed of gentle blood. 10
 In vain their feet with loitering tread
 Passed 'mid the graves where rank is naught;
 All could not read the lesson taught
 In that republic of the dead.

How sweet the hour of Sabbath talk, 15
 The vale with peace and sunshine full
 Where all the happy people walk,
 Decked in their homespun flax and wool!
 Where youth's gay hats with blossoms bloom;
 And every maid with simple art, 20
 Wears on her breast, like her own heart,
 A bud whose depths are all perfume;
 While every garment's gentle stir
 Is breathing rose and lavender.

The pastor came; his snowy locks 25
 Hallowed his brow of thought and care;
 And calmly, as shepherds lead their flocks,
 He led into the house of prayer.
 The pastor rose; the prayer was strong;
 The psalm was warrior David's song; 30
 The text, a few short words of might —
 "The Lord of hosts shall arm the right!"

He spoke of wrongs too long endured,
Of sacred rights to be secured;
Then from his patriot tongue of flame
The startling words for Freedom came.
5 The stirring sentences he spake
Compelled the heart to glow or quake,
And, rising on his theme's broad wing,
And grasping in his nervous hand
The imaginary battle brand,
10 In face of death he dared to fling
Defiance to a tyrant king.

Even as he spoke, his frame, renewed
In eloquence of attitude,
Rose, as it seemed, a shoulder higher;
15 Then swept his kindling glance of fire
From startled pew to breathless choir;
When suddenly his mantle wide
His hands impatient flung aside,
And, lo! he met their wondering eyes
20 Complete in all a warrior's guise.

A moment there was awful pause —
When Berkeley cried, "Cease, traitor! cease!
God's temple is the house of peace!"
The other shouted, "Nay, not so,
25 When God is with our righteous cause;
His holiest places then are ours,
His temples are our forts and towers,
That frown upon the tyrant foe;
In this, the dawn of Freedom's day,
30 There is a time to fight and pray!"

And now before the open door —
The warrior priest had ordered so —
The enlisting trumpet's sudden roar
Rang through the chapel, o'er and o'er,

Its long reverberating blow,
 So loud and clear, it seemed the ear
 Of dusty death must wake and hear.
 And there the startling drum and fife
 Fired the living with fiercer life; 5
 While overhead, with wild increase,
 Forgetting its ancient toll of peace,
 The great bell swung as ne'er before;
 It seemed as it would never cease;
 And every word its ardor flung 10
 From off its jubilant iron tongue
 Was, "War! War! War!"

"Who dares?" — this was the patriot's cry,
 As striding from the desk he came —
 "Come out with me, in Freedom's name, 15
 For her to live, for her to die?"
 A hundred hands flung up reply,
 A hundred voices answered, "I!"

PAUL REVERE'S RIDE (1863)

BY HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

LISTEN, my children, and you shall hear
 Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere, 20
 On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
 Hardly a man is now alive
 Who remembers that famous day and year.

He said to his friend, "If the British march
 By land or sea from the town tonight, 25
 Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
 Of the North Church tower as a signal light —
 One, if by land, and two, if by sea ;

And I on the opposite shore will be,
 Ready to ride and spread the alarm
 Through every Middlesex village and farm,
 For the country folk to be up and to arm."

- 5 Then he said, "Good-night!" and with muffled oar
 Silently rowed to the Charlestown shore,
 Just as the moon rose over the bay,
 Where swinging wide at her moorings lay
 The Somerset, British man-of-war;
 10 A phantom ship, with each mast and spar
 Across the moon like a prison bar,
 And a huge black hulk, that was magnified
 By its own reflection in the tide.

- Meanwhile, his friend, through alley and street,
 15 Wanders and watches with eager ears,
 Till in the silence around him he hears
 The muster of men at the barrack door,
 The sound of arms, and the tramp of feet,
 And the measured tread of the grenadiers,
 20 Marching down to their boats on the shore.

- Then he climbed the tower of the Old North Church,
 By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,
 To the belfry-chamber overhead,
 And startled the pigeons from their perch
 25 On the sombre rafters, that round him made
 Masses and moving shapes of shade —
 By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,
 To the highest window in the wall,
 Where he paused to listen and look down
 30 A moment on the roofs of the town,
 And the moonlight flowing over all.

Beneath, in the churchyard, lay the dead,
 In their night-encampment on the hill,
 Wrapped in silence so deep and still
 That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,
 The watchful night wind, as it went 5
 Creeping along from tent to tent,
 And seeming to whisper, "All is well!"
 A moment only he feels the spell
 Of the place and the hour, and the secret dread
 Of the lonely belfry and the dead; 10
 For suddenly all his thoughts are bent
 On a shadowy something far away,
 Where the river widens to meet the bay —
 A line of black that bends and floats
 On the rising tide, like a bridge of boats. 15

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,
 Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride
 On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.
 Now he patted his horse's side,
 Now gazed at the landscape far and near, 20
 Then, impetuous, stamped the earth,
 And turned and tightened his saddle-girth;
 But mostly he watched with eager search
 The belfry-tower of the Old North Church,
 As it rose above the graves on the hill, 25
 Lonely and spectral and sombre and still.
 And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's height
 A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!
 He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,
 But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight 30
 A second lamp in the belfry burns!

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
 A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,

And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet;
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
5 And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.

He has left the village and mounted the steep,
And beneath him, tranquil and broad and deep,
Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;
10 And under the alders that skirt its edge,
Now soft on the sand, now loud on the ledge,
Is heard the tramp of his steed as he rides.

It was twelve by the village clock
When he crossed the bridge into Medford town.
15 He heard the crowing of the cock
And the barking of the farmer's dog,
And felt the damp of the river fog
That rises after the sun goes down.

It was one by the village clock
20 When he galloped into Lexington.
He saw the gilded weathercock
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,
And the meeting-house windows, blank and bare,
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,
25 As if they already stood aghast
At the bloody work they would look upon.

It was two by the village clock
When he came to the bridge in Concord town.
He heard the bleating of the flock
30 And the twitter of birds among the trees,
And felt the breath of the morning breeze
Blowing over the meadows brown.

And one was safe and asleep in his bed
Who at the bridge would be first to fall,
Who that day would be lying dead,
Pierced by a British musket-ball.

You know the rest. In the books you have read, 5
How the British Regulars fired and fled —
How the farmers gave them ball for ball
From behind each fence and farm-yard wall,
Chasing the red-coats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again 10
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only pausing to fire and load.

So through the night rode Paul Revere;
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm — 15
A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo forevermore!
For, borne on the night-wind of the Past,
Through all our history, to the last, 20
In the hour of darkness and peril and need,
The people will waken and listen to hear
The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

BOSTON HYMN (1865)

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON °

THE word of the Lord by night 25
To the watching Pilgrims came,
As they sat by the seaside,
And filled their hearts with flame.

God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

5 Think ye I made this ball
A field of havoc and war,
Where tyrants great and tyrants small
Might harry the weak and poor?

10 My angel — his name is Freedom —
Choose him to be your king;
He shall cut pathways east and west,
And fend you with his wing.

15 Lo! I uncover the land
Which I hid of old time in the West,
As the sculptor uncovers the statue
When he has wrought his best;

20 I show Columbia, of the rocks
Which dip their foot in the seas,
And soar to the air-borne flocks
Of clouds and the boreal fleece.

I will divide my goods;
Call in the wretch and slave:
None shall rule but the humble,
And none but Toil shall have.

25 I will have never a noble,
No lineage counted great;
Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
Shall constitute a state.

Go, cut down trees in the forest,
And trim the straightest boughs ;
Cut down trees in the forest,
And build me a wooden house.

Call the people together, 5
The young men and the sires,
The digger in the harvest field,
Hireling and him that hires ;

And here in a pine state-house
They shall choose men to rule 10
In every needful faculty,
In church and state and school.

Lo, now ! if these poor men
Can govern the land and sea,
And make just laws below the sun, 15
As planets faithful be.

And ye shall succor men ;
'Tis nobleness to serve ;
Help them who cannot help again :
Beware from right to swerve. 20

I break your bonds and masterships,
And I unchain the slave :
Free be his heart and hand henceforth
As wind and wandering wave.

I cause from every creature 25
His proper good to flow :
As much as he is and doeth,
So much he shall bestow.

But laying hands on another
To coin his labor and sweat,
He goes in pawn to his victim
For eternal years in debt.

5 Today unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound ;
Lift up a people from the dust,
Trump of their rescue, sound !

10 Pay ransom to the owner,
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was. Pay him.

15 O North ! give him beauty for rags,
And honor, O South ! for his shame ;
Nevada ! coin thy golden crags
With Freedom's image and name.

20 Up ! and the dusky race
That sat in darkness long —
Be swift their feet as antelopes,
And as behemoth strong.

25 Come, East and West and North,
By races, as snow-flakes,
And carry my purpose forth,
Which neither halts nor shakes.

30 My will fulfilled shall be,
For, in daylight or in dark,
My thunderbolt has eyes to see
His way home to the mark.

LIBERTY FOR ALL

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON °

THEY tell me, Liberty! that in thy name
 I may not plead for all the human race;
 That some are born to bondage and disgrace,
 Some to a heritage of woe and shame,
 And some to power supreme, and glorious fame: 5
 With my whole soul I spurn the doctrine base,
 And, as an equal brotherhood, embrace
 All people, and for all fair freedom claim!
 Know this, O man! whate'er thy earthly fate —
 God never made a tyrant nor a slave: 10
 Woe, then, to those who dare to desecrate
 His glorious image! — for to all he gave
 Eternal rights, which none may violate;
 And, by a mighty hand, the oppressed He yet shall save.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1865)

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL °

LIFE may be given in many ways, 15
 And loyalty to Truth be sealed
 As bravely in the closet as the field,
 So bountiful is Fate;
 But then to stand beside her,
 When craven churls deride her, 20
 To front a lie in arms and not to yield,
 This shows, methinks, God's plan
 And measure of a stalwart man,
 Limbed like the old heroic breeds,
 Who stand self-poised on manhood's solid earth, 25
 Not forced to frame excuses for his birth,
 Fed from within with all the strength he needs.
 Such was he, our martyr-chief,

- Whom late the Nation he had led,
 With ashes on her head,
 Wept with the passion of an angry grief :
 Forgive me, if from present things I turn
 5 To speak what in my heart will beat and burn,
 And hang my wreath on his world-honored urn.
 Nature, they say, doth dote,
 And cannot make a man
 Save on some worn-out plan,
 10 Repeating us by rote :
 For him her Old-World molds aside she threw,
 And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
 Of the unexhausted West,
 With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
 15 Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.
 How beautiful to see
 Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
 Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead ;
 One whose meek flock the people joyed to be
 20 Not lured by any cheat of birth,
 But by his clear-grained human worth,
 And brave old wisdom of sincerity !
 They knew that outward grace is dust ;
 They could not choose but trust
 25 In that sure-footed mind's unfaltering skill,
 And supple-tempered will
 That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust.
 His was no lonely mountain peak of mind,
 Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
 30 A sea mark now, now lost in vapor's blind ;
 Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,
 Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,
 Yet also nigh to Heaven and loved of loftiest stars.
 Nothing of Europe here,
 35 Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,
 Ere any names of serf and peer

Could Nature's equal scheme deface
 And thwart her genial will ;
 Here was a type of the true elder race,
 And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face.
 I praise him not ; it were too late ; 5
 And some innative weakness there must be
 In him who condescends to victory
 Such as the Present gives, and cannot wait,
 Safe in himself as in a fate.
 So always firmly he : 10
 He knew to bide his time,
 And can his fame abide,
 Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
 Till the wise years decide.
 Great captains, with their guns and drums, 15
 Disturb our judgment for the hour,
 But at last silence comes !
 These all are gone, and standing like a tower,
 Our children shall behold his fame,
 The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man, 20
 Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
 New birth of our new soil, the first American.

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY (1867)¹

BY FRANCIS MILES FINCH °

BY the flow of the inland river,
 Whence the fleets of iron have fled,
 Where the blades of the grave-grass quiver, 25
 Asleep are the ranks of the dead :
 Under the sod and the dew,
 Waiting the Judgment Day ;
 Under the one, the Blue ;
 Under the other, the Gray. 30

¹ Reprinted by permission of Henry Holt and Company from F. M. Finch's poems, "The Blue and the Gray and Other Poems."

These in the robings of glory,
Those in the gloom of defeat,
All with the battle-blood gory,
In the dusk of eternity meet :
5 Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the Judgment Day ;
Under the laurel, the Blue ;
Under the willow, the Gray.

From the silence of sorrowful hours
10 The desolate mourners go,
Lovingly laden with flowers
Alike for the friend and the foe :
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the Judgment Day ;
15 Under the roses, the Blue ;
Under the lilies, the Gray.

So with an equal splendor
The morning sun-rays fall,
With a touch impartially tender,
20 On the blossoms blooming for all :
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the Judgment Day ;
Brodered with gold, the Blue ;
Mellowed with gold, the Gray.

So, when the summer calleth,
On forest and field of grain,
With an equal murmur falleth
The cooling drip of the rain :
25 Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the Judgment Day ;
30 Wet with the rain, the Blue ;
Wet with the rain, the Gray.

Sadly, but not with upbraiding,
 The generous deed was done,
 In the storm of the years that are fading
 No braver battle was won :

Under the sod and the dew,
 Waiting the Judgment Day ; 5
 Under the blossoms, the Blue ;
 Under the garlands, the Gray.

No more shall the war cry sever,
 Or the winding rivers be red ;
 They banish our anger forever
 When they laurel the graves of our dead !

Under the sod and the dew,
 Waiting the Judgment Day ;
 Love and tears for the Blue ; 10
 Tears and love for the Gray.

CENTENNIAL HYMN (1876)

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER °

OUR fathers' God ! from out whose hand
 The centuries fall like grains of sand,
 We meet today, united, free,
 And loyal to our land and Thee, 20
 To thank Thee for the era done,
 And trust Thee for the opening one.

Here, where of old, by Thy design,
 The fathers spake that word of Thine
 Whose echo is the glad refrain 25
 Of rendered bolt and falling chain,
 To grace our festal time, from all
 The zones of earth our guests we call.

Be with us while the New World greets
The Old World thronging all its streets,
Unveiling all the triumphs won
By art or toil beneath the sun ;
5 And unto common good ordain
This rivalry of hand and brain.

Thou, who hast here in concord furled
The war flags of a gathered world,
Beneath our Western skies fulfill
10 The Orient's mission of good-will,
And, freighted with love's Golden Fleece,
Send back its Argonauts of peace.

For art and labor met in truce,
For beauty made the bride of use,
15 We thank Thee ; but, withal, we crave
The austere virtues strong to save,
The honor proof to place or gold,
The manhood never bought nor sold !

Oh, make Thou us, through centuries long,
20 In peace secure, in justice strong ;
Around our gift of freedom draw
The safeguards of thy righteous law :
And, cast in some diviner mold,
Let the new cycle shame the old !

THE FLAG GOES BY (1904)

BY HENRY HOLCOMB BENNETT °

HATS off !
Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums,
A flash of color beneath the sky :
Hats off ! 5
The flag is passing by !

Blue and crimson and white it shines,
Over the steel-tipped, ordered lines.
Hats off !
The colors before us fly ; 10
But more than the flag is passing by :

Sea-fights and land-fights, grim and great,
Fought to make and to save the State :
Weary marches and sinking ships ;
Cheers of victory on dying lips ; 15

Days of plenty and years of peace ;
March of a strong land's swift increase ;
Equal justice, right and law,
Stately honor and reverend awe ;
Sign of a nation great and strong 20
To ward her people from foreign wrong :
Pride and glory and honor, — all
Live in the colors to stand or fall.

Hats off !
Along the street there comes 25
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums ;
And loyal hearts are beating high :
Hats off !
The flag is passing by !

ROBERT E. LEE (1907)

BY JULIA WARD HOWE °

A GALLANT foeman in the fight,
 A brother when the fight was o'er,
 The hand that led the host with might
 The blessed torch of learning bore.

5 No shriek of shells nor roll of drums,
 No challenge fierce, resounding far,
 When reconciling Wisdom comes
 To heal the cruel wounds of war.

10 Thought may the minds of men divide,
 Love makes the hearts of nations one;
 And so, thy soldier grave beside,
 We honor thee, Virginia's son.

THE FLAG OF THE FREE (1910)

BY HENRY VAN DYKE °

*O brave flag, O bright flag, O flag to lead the free !
 The glory of thy silver stars,
 15 Engrailed in blue above the bars
 Of red for courage, white for truth,
 Has brought the world a second youth
 And drawn a hundred million hearts to follow after thee. . . .*

20 Old Cambridge saw thee first unfurled,
 By Washington's far-reaching hand,
 To greet, in Seventy-six, the wintry morn
 Of a new year, and herald to the world
 Glad tidings from a Western land, —
 A people and a hope new-born !

The double cross then filled thine azure field,
 In token of a spirit loath to yield
 The breaking ties that bound thee to a throne.
 But not for long thine oriflamme could bear
 That symbol of an outworn trust in kings. 5
 The winds that bore thee out on widening wings
 Called for a greater sign and all thine own, —
 A new device to speak of heavenly laws
 And lights that surely guide the people's cause.
 Oh, greatly did they hope, and greatly dare, 10
 Who bade the stars in heaven fight for them,
 And set upon their battle-flag a fair
 New constellation as a diadem!
 Along the blood-stained banks of Brandywine
 The ragged regiments were rallied to this sign; 15
 Through Saratoga's woods it fluttered bright
 Amid the perils of the hard-won fight;
 O'er Yorktown's meadows broad and green
 It hailed the glory of the final scene;
 And when at length Manhattan saw 20
 The last invaders' line of scarlet coats
 Pass Bowling Green, and fill the waiting boats
 And sullenly withdraw,
 The flag that proudly flew
 Above the battered line of buff and blue, 25
 Marching, with rattling drums and shrilling pipes,
 Along the Bowery and down Broadway,
 Was this that leads the great parade today, —
 The glorious banner of the stars and stripes.
 First of the flags of earth to dare 30
 A heraldry so high;
 First of the flags of earth to bear
 The blazons of the sky;
 Long may thy constellation glow,
 Foretelling happy fate; 35
 Wider thy starry circle grow,

- And every star a State! . . .
 Look forth across thy widespread lands,
 O flag, and let thy stars to-night be eyes
 To see the visionary hosts
 5 Of men and women grateful to be thine,
 That joyfully arise
 From all thy borders and thy coasts,
 And follow after thee in endless line!
 They lift to thee a forest of saluting hands;
 10 They hail thee with a rolling ocean-roar
 Of cheers; and as the echo dies,
 There comes a sweet and moving song
 Of treble voices from the childish throng
 Who run to thee from every school-house door.
 15 Behold thine army! Here thy power lies:
 The men whom freedom has made strong,
 And bound to follow thee by willing vows;
 The women greated by the joys
 Of motherhood to rule a happy house;
 20 The vigorous girls and boys,
 Whose eager faces and unclouded brows
 Foretell the future of a noble race,
 Rich in the wealth of wisdom and true worth!
 While millions such as these to thee belong,
 25 What foe can do thee wrong,
 What jealous rival rob thee of thy place
 Foremost of all the flags of earth? . . .
- O bright flag, O brave flag, O flag to lead the free!*
The hand of God thy colors blent,
 30 *And heaven to earth thy glory lent,*
To shield the weak, and guide the strong
To make an end of human wrong,
And draw a countless human host to follow after thee!

AMERICA FOR ME (1910)

BY HENRY VAN DYKE

'Tis fine to see the Old World, and travel up and down
Among the famous palaces and cities of renown,
To admire crumbly castles and the statues of the kings —
But now I think I've had enough of antiquated things.

So it's home again, and home again, America for me! 5
My heart is turning home again, and there I long to be,
In the land of youth and freedom beyond the ocean bars,
Where the air is full of sunlight and the flag is full of stars

Oh, London is a man's town, there's power in the air;
And Paris is a woman's town, with flowers in her hair; 10
And it's sweet to dream in Venice, and it's great to study
Rome,
But when it comes to living, there is no place like home.

I know that Europe's wonderful, yet something seems to
lack:
The Past is too much with her, and the people looking
back.
But the glory of the Present is to make the Future free — 15
We love our land for what she is and what she is to be.

Oh, it's home again, and home again, America for me!
I want a ship that's westward bound to plough the rolling
sea,
To the blessed Land of Room Enough beyond the ocean
bars,
Where the air is full of sunlight and the flag is full of stars. 20

THE CHALLENGE (1917)

"The world must be made safe for democracy." — *President Wilson, April 2, 1917*

BY DYSART McMULLEN °

NOT with the rolling voices of the guns,
Nor yet with sheen of sun on bayonet bright
Do we salute the world, this day of days,
Strong to uphold the right.

5 Power shall answer might in days to come,
Shell speak to shell beneath a flaming sky,
And soldiers swarm the narrow ways of death
Proud of their chance to die.

But that is for the future; here today
10 After long waiting have we found tongue,
And in forum of the world's acclaim
Immortal challenge flung.

He must be safe who delves with humble hands! —
He must be safe who toils in storm and heat! —
15 Never again the plaything of dull kings
Chained to ambitious feet!

Only for this we go into the murk:
Not for revenge — yea, though our dead be hid
Deep in the sea and call with clarion voice —
20 Our greatness must forbid.

But to this monstrous thing which men have made
Out of long ages strong of hate and might —
This bloody mask called Emperor or King,
This horror of the night —

We call a halt ! and bid it stand and draw ! —
 Beat the long roll and all our bugles play !
 Hark well our challenge ! Ye who crowd the night ! —
 It is the dawn of day !

AN ODE OF DEDICATION (1917)

BY HERMANN HAGEDORN °

I

Who would have thought a month of Spring	5
Could work so deep a change ?	
Who would have thought a dream could sting	
The dead to new life, quivering,	
And shake dull hearts with echoing	
Of music new and strange ?	10
The deaf have heard a call,	
The scoffers have heard a cry.	
Freedom moaned, "Give help ! I fall !	
Brother, your hand ! I die !"	
The dumb have heard and spoken,	15
The sluggards have stirred ;	
A word, a dream, has broken	
The sleep of the sepulchered !	
Through the storm and the dark	
Freedom flashed a spark,	20
And we who love her name	
Burst into flame,	
And came !	
Who would have thought that April days	
Could work such conjury ?	25
Up from the crowded towns ablaze,	
Up from the green hills, like a haze	
Slow-rising to some magic lay's	

- Unearthly harmony —
 Walls and resplendent spires
 Have arisen, and stand !
 A place of faint, far choirs
 5 And chimes and candle-fires,
 A month of new desires
 Has made a noisy land.
 A place of prayer and search,
 A house of God, a church !
- 10 Lo, how the spires ascend !
 Lo, how the arches rise !
 Lo, how the pinnacles pierce the clouds
 To melt their glow with the sky's !
 What miracle, Wyoming?
 15 What high roof overspreads,
 Kansas, your waving fields,
 New York, your hurrying heads?
 What roof strains to the stars
 Over hill, over plain?
 20 What Gothic glory covers you both,
 California, Maine?
 In Florida, in Idaho,
 The crystal walls aspire ;
 In Oregon, in Delaware,
 25 Sings low the faint, far choir.
 The valleys feel a sacred stir
 In every leaf and clod ;
 And from every mountain, every hill,
 The pillars loom up to God.

II

- 30 Who said, "*It is a booth where doves are sold*" ?
 Who said, "*It is a money-changers' cave*" ?

Silence to such forever, and behold !

It is a vast cathedral, and its nave
And dim-lit transept and broad aisles are filled
With a great nation's millions, on their knees
With new devotion and high fervor thrilled 5
Offering silver and heart's-ease
And love and life and all sweet, temporal things,
Still to keep bright
The steady light
That stifles in the wake of kings ! 10

A market-place ! they cried ?
A lotus-land ? They *lied* !
It is a great cathedral, not with hands
Upraised, but by the spirit's mute commands
Uplifted by the spirit, wall and spire, 15
To house a nation's purified desire !
A church ! Where in hushed fervor stand
The children of contending races,
Forgetting feud and fatherland —
A hundred million lifted faces. 20

III

Once more the bugle breaks the April mood.
Once more the march of armies wakes the glen.
Once more the ardor simmers in the blood.
Once more a dream is single lord of men !

From images, from gods of clay, 25
From idols bright with diadems ;
From lips that drew our souls astray
With lure of palaces and gems

And dancing girls and lights and wine
 And crowns and power and golden halls;
 From pride's penurious Mine and Thine,
 Like narrow streets with towering walls;
 5 From painted counterfeits and trash
 We turn to the authentic gleam,
 Where in the gale and battle thrash
 The banners of a holy dream!

Once more a dream is single lord of men!
 10 Yea, we have put aside all little gods!
 A dream is captain of the hours again!
 And we who were the sod's
 Budding and fading children, with no trust
 Or treasury beyond the dust,
 15 Feel on our eyes ethereal finger-tips
 Burn like a living coal! —
 And gasp to feel the angel at our lips
 Call and awake the soul!

Once more a dream is single lord of men!
 20 Yea, we will rise and go, and face disaster
 And want and wounds and death in some far fen,
 Having no king, but a great dream for master! —
 To lead us over perilous seas, through trials
 Of heart and spirit, through long nights of pain,
 25 Through agonies of fear, and self-denials,
 And longing for far friends and comrades slain.
 And doubt and hate and utter weariness
 And savage hungers and supreme despairs —
 Yea, we will go, yea, we will acquiesce,
 30 So at the last our children be the heirs
 Of life, not death; of liberty, not bars!
 Inheritors not of smooth, ordered things,

But of hot struggle and strong hearts, and stars!
 And questing spirits and fierce gales and wings!

Once more a dream is single lord of men!

Yea, we will go and we will close dear doors
 Of hope, and many an airy denizen

5

Of the dear land of Maybe and the shores
 Of the enchanted islands of Perchance,

We will face, hand in hand and eye in eye,
 Too full of pain for any utterance

Save the last halting murmur, "So — good-by."
 For we will part from other friends than those

10

Who wear this garment of dissolving flesh.
 And die for dreams. Yea, softly we will close

The gates of twilit gardens cool and fresh,
 Where, with the great immortals amid flowers

15

And bright immortal birds and billowy trees,
 We held high converse and forgot the hours,

Remembering Truth and Beauty. Even to these
 Beloved ghosts we also speak farewell.

IV

We will arise and go, not ignorant
 Wherefore or at what price we go to sell

20

This bundle of bright hopes we covenant
 Unto a dream. Our price is a new world!

We will go forth and slay the dragon, yea,
 With all the banners of the Dream unfurled

25

We will go forth with swords and songs to slay
 This ravager of villages, this old,

Bewitched, confused, malignant coil of hate,
 Belching green poisons! In his dungeon-hold

The captive queens in tears and hunger wait.
 Immortal Dream! The fettered shall be free!

30

Yea, not these only! All, who fettered lie!

Oh, Dream, who wilt not let us bow the knee,
 Let not this dragon's downfall satisfy
 Our reawakened passion for free hands,
 Free-ranging and unsaddled spirits, born
 5 To race against the wind on wide sea-strands
 And thunder up high glens! Oh, silver horn,
 Calling us forth, help us remember, yea,
 Even now help us remember, while the Snake
 Sprawls yet unconquered on the world's highway
 10 And hills and cities to his roaring shake,
 Help us remember that the high crusade
 Whereon we here embark calls forth the free
 In hosts with spears and flaunting flags arrayed,
 Nor for one dragon's end, one victory,
 15 One last great war, but to unending war
 Without, within, till God's white torch, supreme,
 Melt the last chain; and the last dungeon-door
 Swing slowly wide to the triumphant dream!

God, who gavest men eyes
 20 To see a dream;
 God, who gavest men heart
 To follow the Gleam;
 God, who gavest men stars
 To find heaven by;
 25 God, who madest men glad
 At need to die;
 Lord, from the hills again
 We hear thy drum!
 God, who lovest free men,
 30 God, who lovest free men,
 God, who lovest free men,
 Lead on! We come.

"LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD" (1917)

BY HENRY VAN DYKE °

THOU warden of the western gate, above Manhattan Bay,
The fogs of doubt that hid thy face are driven clean away :
Thine eyes at last look far and clear, thou liftest high thy
hand

To spread the light of liberty world-wide for every land.

No more thou dreamest of a peace reserved alone for thee, ⁵
While friends are fighting for thy cause beyond the guard-
ian sea :

The battle that they wage is thine ; thou fallest if they
fall ;

The swollen flood of Prussian pride will sweep unchecked
o'er all.

O cruel is the conquer-lust in Hohenzollern brains :

The paths they plot to gain their goal are dark with shame-
ful stains : 10

No faith they keep, no law revere, no god but naked
Might ; —

They are the foemen of mankind. Up, Liberty, and
smite !

Britain, and France and Italy, and Russia newly born,
Have waited for thee in the night. Oh, come as comes
the morn !

Serene and strong and full of faith, America, arise, 15
With steady hope and mighty help to join thy brave
Allies.

O dearest country of my heart, home of the high desire,
Make clean thy soul for sacrifice on Freedom's altar-fire :
For thou must suffer, thou must fight, until the war-lords
cease,

And all the peoples lift their heads in liberty and peace. 20

AMERICA AND HER ALLIES (1917)

BY WASHINGTON GLADDEN °

O LAND of lands, my Fatherland,
The beautiful, the free,
All lands and shores to freedom dear,
Are ever dear to thee;
5 All sons of freedom hail thy name
And wait thy word of might,
While round the world the lists are joined
For liberty and light.

Hail sons of France, old comrades dear!
10 Hail Britons brave and true!
Hail Belgian martyrs ringed with flame!
Slavs fired with visions new!
Italian lovers mailed with light!
Dark brothers from Japan!
15 From East to West all lands are kin
Who live for God and man.

Here endeth war! Our bands are sworn!
Now dawns the better hour,
When lust of blood shall cease to rule,
20 When peace shall come with power;
We front the fiend that rends our race,
And fills our homes with gloom;
We break his scepter, spurn his crown,
And nail him to his tomb!

25 Now hands all 'round, our troth we plight,
To rid the world of lies,
To fill all hearts with truth and trust,
And willing sacrifice;

To free all lands from hate and spite,
 And fear from strand to strand;
 To make all nations neighbors,
 And the world one Fatherland!

AMERICAN CONSECRATION HYMN (1918)

BY PERCY MACKAYE°

I

O THOU, who long ago	5
Didst move the hearts of men	
Their freedom's worth to know,	
America!	
Now move our hearts again	
To rise for all men's right,	10
And, strong in liberty,	
Go forth to fight,	
Go forth to fight,	
Forth to fight	
For thee!	15

CHORUS:

<i>For right, more dear than peace,</i>	
<i>For hope, that bears release</i>	
<i>To slavish agonies,</i>	
Our swords are drawn;	
And they shall rest no more	20
Till yonder blood-red seas	
And hell-dark shore	
Are white with dawn.	

II

Not bound by earthly loam
Art thou, nor shelt'ring hill:
Thou art our spirits' home,
America!
5 Our home, that lures us still
To build beyond war's grave,
And, where God's watch-fires gleam,
Go forth to save,
Go forth to save,
10 Forth to save
Our dream.

III

O land, whose living soul
Hast led all tribes to seek
Their Godward star and goal,
15 America!
Now bid thy beacon speak
In fire, and let thy bright
Auroral stars, unfurled,
Go forth to light,
20 Go forth to light,
Forth to light
The world!

NOTES

PATRICK HENRY'S SPEECH ON LIBERTY (Page 1)

Patrick Henry (1736-1799) is said to have been the greatest orator of American Revolutionary days. He had an impatient zeal for freedom and liberty. From 1765 to his death in 1799 he was a real leader in Virginia public affairs and in the nation. He was twice governor of Virginia, and Washington wanted him to become chief-justice of the Supreme Court, but he did not accept this offer. He was one of the most popular men in the country, renowned for eloquence, and hailed as the champion of constitutional liberty. He was a delegate to the convention that ratified for Virginia the Federal Constitution, and, though at first opposed to some of its provisions, took a part in shaping the Constitution he had opposed. Washington and Henry both died in the same year, 1799.

The English Parliament passed the Stamp Act, March, 1765. The object of this Act was to secure money in America from the colonists to help defray the expenses of a small standing army in America. This proposal seemed reasonable and necessary, for English troops were at that time defending the colonists against Indian uprisings. The colonists were asked to contribute only about one-third of the necessary money for the purpose, and every cent of the money to be raised in America was to be spent in America. Only nine days after he entered the Virginia Assembly, Henry, after waiting patiently for older members to speak, delivered an impassioned speech in which he moved a set of seven resolutions denouncing the Stamp Act. Some of the members of the Assembly characterized Henry's propositions as treasonable. They were passed, however.

Just about one decade later, March 23, 1775, Henry stoutly and resolutely defended the cause of liberty and freedom. It was on this occasion that he delivered the speech we are studying. The Second Revolutionary Convention of Virginia was considering the establishment of a militia for purposes of defense. This militia, in Henry's opinion, should take the place of mercenary troops hired by England and placed in the colonies. He therefore moved that such a militia be established. Again he found strong opposition to his plan, for there were pacifists in the Convention who feared such revolutionary measures. Henry could no longer restrain himself. He arose and delivered this Liberty Speech, virtually calling Virginia to arms against England. His resolutions were adopted, and a committee was appointed to put the resolutions into effect. Among others, the committee included George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

How grave Henry's speech must have seemed to many may be judged by Benjamin Franklin's statement to Lord Chatham in 1774: "I have never heard from any person drunk or sober the least expression of a wish for separation." Washington also said, even so late as when he went to take command of the colonial army, that the thought of independence was abhorrent to him. John Adams said that in 1775 he was avoided in the streets of Philadelphia "like a man infected with leprosy" for his leanings toward "independency."

In this speech the spirit of the crusader and prophet is easily discernible.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (Page 5)

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) wrote this document "without reference to book or pamphlet," as he himself said. His draft of it was changed somewhat by other members of the Committee on Independence and by the Congress.

Jefferson was born in Virginia and was of Welsh descent. He was not rich, though he inherited an estate from his father. He made shrewd purchases, and by the time he

was thirty years old he owned some five thousand acres of land and fifty slaves. His chief source of income was his law practice. Hardship had no share in his education. He was an exceedingly patriotic man, laboriously serving his country for nearly half a century. He entered the Virginia Assembly in 1769, and became a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1775. He was governor of Virginia for two years (1779-1780); was minister to France from 1784 to 1789; was Secretary of State in Washington's Cabinet for four years (1790-1793); and was Vice-President of the United States from 1797 until his election to the Presidency in 1801.

Professor West in his *American History and Government* says of Jefferson: "From 1801 to 1809 American history is sometimes called 'the biography of Thomas Jefferson.' The nation believed in him; Congress swayed to his wishes. He was an intellectual aristocrat, but the prophet of democracy; a theorist of the wildest speculations, but an astute practical politician upon all immediate problems; yet he was a shy man, averse to public speaking or public appearances, but a popular dictator." Jefferson selected the epitaph for his resting place: "Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statute of Virginia for Religious freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." One of Jefferson's biographers said: "If America is right, Thomas Jefferson was right."

It should be remembered that the idea of independence was a growth. History shows that the thought of actual independence from England was denounced by Continental Congresses, by provincial conventions, and by leading statesmen, among them Washington (October, 1774, May and June, 1775); Franklin (March, 1775); Jefferson (September, 1775); John Jay (after September, 1775). In February, 1776, the South Carolina convention protested and condemned expressions of independence from Gadsden. American chaplains prayed for George III for months after Bunker Hill, and as late as March, 1776, Maryland instructed her delegates not to consent to any

proposal of independence. There can be no question about the honesty of these expressions. But Americans were ready to declare for independence and to fight for it when they were finally convinced that debate and petition could not change the stubborn attitude of King George III toward the rights of the colonists. The causes for the Revolution and the separation from England are easily seen by reading the Declaration itself, which is preserved for us at Washington, D. C. The fifty-six members of the Congress who signed it were, under English law, traitors and subject to the fate of traitors. Ever since its adoption it has been an exceedingly great force in advancing democracy throughout the world. Every American should read it carefully and ponder its significance.

THE NATURE OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION (Page 9)

Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804) was born in the West Indies and was educated at King's College (now Columbia University), New York City. When the Revolution broke out he joined the army, was appointed a captain of artillery, and did noteworthy and effective work. He was a famous lawyer and was in the Congress of the Confederation for a time (1782-1783). Washington appointed him Secretary of the Treasury in 1789. His genius for finance saved the United States from ruin. He and Jefferson were bitter political opponents. "Except for Hamilton," says West, "there would hardly have been a Nation for Jefferson to Americanize." Aaron Burr, while Vice-President of the United States, was a candidate for governor of New York. He was defeated in the election, and he laid his defeat to Hamilton, his personal and political enemy. Burr forced a duel on Hamilton and fatally shot him at Weehawken, New Jersey, July 11, 1804. The next day Hamilton died. He was forty-seven years old.

When the Federal Constitution was up for ratification or rejection by New York state, a vote against it by New

York, or Massachusetts, or Virginia would in all probability have caused its rejection as the Constitution of our country. New York's ratification of it was due almost wholly to Hamilton. West in his *American History and Government* says: "Never did his [Hamilton's] splendid intellect render his country nobler service. Day by day against almost hopeless odds, and for a time almost alone in debate, by powerful logic and gentle persuasion, he beat down and wore away the two-thirds majority against the Constitution, until at last the greater leaders of the opposition came frankly to his side." New York voted for the Constitution 30 to 27. But two votes in its convention of fifty-seven would have defeated it. Hamilton himself said that four-sevenths of the population of New York state was opposed to the Union. Hamilton was by no means satisfied with the Constitution, but he championed it because his mind was of a practical nature, because he had a natural horror of schism. Much of his patriotic work in getting New York to adopt the Constitution was done through the *Federalist*, of which he was joint-author. This is a collection of essays that appeared in New York newspapers week after week and later were published in book form. It is one of the greatest books of the world, and one of the wisest and best discussions of the Constitution.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS (Page 21)

George Washington (1732-1799) had charge of a small force of soldiers in Pontiac's War (1763), when he was about thirty years old. He was a member of the First Continental Congress, which met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. The Second Continental Congress chose Washington commander-in-chief of the Continental forces, June 15, 1775. These forces were to defend American liberty, then known as the "immemorial rights of Englishmen." He was "the one indispensable man of the Revolution." And we are told that he and the French alliance (1778) saved the Revolution. Washington was a master of detail and learned from his own defeats. He

usually kept himself under control, was long-suffering and patient, though he possessed a hot and impetuous temper. He was inaugurated in Federal Hall, Wall Street, New York City, April 30, 1789. Washington liked ceremony and was aristocratic in his inclinations. He believed in a liberal interpretation of the Constitution. That is, he believed that the Congress had "implied power" to carry out any of the powers granted to the Congress by the Constitution. While riding over his farm at Mount Vernon, Va., December 12, 1799, he was overtaken by showers of rain and sleet. The next day he wrote out his will and handed it to his wife. He knew he was not to live long, and he is reported to have said to his old friend and physician, Dr. Craik: "I die hard, but I am not afraid to go." To his secretary, Mr. Lear, he gave directions about his funeral. On Saturday night, December 14, 1799, between ten and eleven o'clock, he died. His last words were: "It is well."

Washington's celebrated Farewell Address was given September 17, 1796. It is largely devoted to the consideration of (1) the unity of government; (2) dangers to the Union; (3) the harmfulness of unrestrained party spirit; (4) the elements of National strength and security, and (5) the treatment of foreign nations. In it he advised his countrymen to keep out of "permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Jefferson is the one who advised against "entangling alliances."

This Address will not be fully understood unless the political beliefs and tendencies from 1792 to 1800 are considered. In any true sense there were no political parties in the early years of Washington's administration, though during the period of the adoption of the Constitution there were the Federalists (strongly in favor of the Constitution) and the anti-Federalists. Within a few months after its adoption party lines vanished. But the strongly contrasted views of Hamilton and Jefferson (both of whom were in Washington's "Cabinet") caused men to be for or against government policies. Men grouped themselves, on the one hand, into those who

believed in an aristocratic form of government, commercial interests, a strong central government, and English sympathies, and on the other hand, into those who believed in a democratic form of government, agricultural interests, weak central government, and French sympathies. Hamilton was a recognized leader of the first group and Jefferson of the second group. About 1792 (Washington was unanimously reelected in 1793) these opposing views led to the formation of new political parties — the new Federalist (that of Hamilton), and the Republican (that of Jefferson) — very unfortunately largely sectional, the North being mainly Federalist, and the South decidedly Republican (Democratic). Jefferson actually believed his political opponents intended to overthrow the Republic, and they thought he was planning to destroy organized society. The Federalists had a deep distrust and disbelief in popular government, that is, in government by the people. Thus we see that those holding opposite political beliefs deeply distrusted each other. Hence the timeliness of Washington's remarks on the spirit of party feeling at the close of his second term when political controversies were exceedingly bitter, and National disruption might follow.

JEFFERSON'S FIRST INAUGURAL (Page 40)

In this address Jefferson speaks of "the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussion and of exertions," and says, "let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind." He also reminds his hearers that "during the throes and convulsions of the ancient world . . . it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore . . . and should divide opinions as to measures of safety," and that "I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this Government is not strong enough."

What is the meaning of these remarks? The presidential campaign of 1800 marks a turning point in Ameri-

can political history. It witnesses the introduction of Jeffersonian Republicanism, "as real a revolution in the principles of our government, as that of 1776 was in its form." The Federalist party remained in power from 1793 to 1801, but it was decidedly weak by 1800 because it was out of touch with the tendency of the times. It was aristocratic in nature and felt deep distrust of the masses, whereas the people of this time were determined to be their own government. John Adams was President from 1797 to 1801. He had an affection for monarchic *forms*, though he was one of the men largely responsible for the American Revolution against George III. The Federalists tried to keep Jefferson out of the presidency even after he was elected to it. Not being successful in this attempt, they passed legislation creating additional Federal judgeships, many more than the judicial business of the country demanded. President John Adams, a Federalist, appointed Federalist friends, whom the people had defeated at the polls for elective government positions, to fill these new judgeships, thus placing them where the people could not vote against them. So partisan was President Adams that he would not wait to shake hands with the new President, Thomas Jefferson, but hurried away to his home in Massachusetts. Every sign of aristocracy was repugnant to Jefferson. He had deep confidence in the common, plain people of America. The Nation believed in him.

Within seven days from the inauguration of Washington, the French Revolution broke out and kept Europe in continuous warfare for twenty years. It colored the politics of America during the whole period, and involved the United States in war with France (the French naval war of 1798-1800), and with England (the war of 1812). Jefferson was pro-French in attitude.

Under such domestic and foreign troubles it is pleasant indeed to note the decidedly conciliatory tone of Jefferson in this his first Inaugural address, which shows above all things else his deep faith in democracy and his explicit trust in the ability of the common man to govern himself.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS AND SECOND INAUGURAL
ADDRESS (Pages 45 and 46)

Lincoln (1809-1865) wrote up his own biography as follows:

"Born, February 12, 1809, in Harden County, Kentucky;

"Education defective;

"Profession, a lawyer;

"Have been a captain of volunteers in the Black Hawk War;

"Postmaster at a very small office;

"Four times a member of the Illinois Legislature;

"And was a member of the lower house of Congress (1847-1849)."

It is reported that he once said in a conversation: "I never went to school more than six months of my life." In 1860 he wrote of his own education: "What he has in the way of education he has picked up. *After he was twenty-three*, and had separated from his father, he studied English grammar. He studied and nearly mastered the six books of Euclid (geometry) *since he was a member of Congress*. He regrets his want of education, and does what he can to supply the want."

Lincoln belonged to the Whig party; later became leader of the Republican party (formed 1856); was its second presidential candidate, being elected by that party as President in 1860; and was reelected by that party in 1864. He was shot by John Wilkes Booth in Ford's Theatre in Washington, April 14, 1865. Lee had surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, Va., April 9, just five days before. Lincoln's Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, as he stood by the bedside of the martyred President, gave expression to six words which, perhaps more than any others, justly rate this kind-hearted, noble American: "Now he belongs to the ages."

Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania wished to make of Cemetery Hill a National burying-ground. We are told that over 3500 Northern soldiers were buried there who

died to save the Union in the greatest battle of the Civil War (July 1-3, 1863) near Gettysburg. This was the most critical moment of the war, General Lee being in command against General Meade. Doctor Junius B. Remensnyder gives an account in *The Outlook* of February 13, 1918, of this address. He was not more than thirty feet from President Lincoln on this occasion. The orator of the day was not Lincoln, but the Hon. Edward Everett, a most cultured speaker. At the conclusion of his address, the President of the Cemetery Association asked President Lincoln to dedicate the cemetery.

All Gettysburg was alive with crowds, soldiers, distinguished Americans, banners, and music. President Lincoln, riding on horseback, led the procession to Cemetery Hill. Mr. Everett spoke for about two hours in elegant diction and in a cultured manner. Lincoln seemed to be burdened by the length of the address. He sat in a very tall rocker, swaying restlessly to and fro, assuming all manner of attitudes, our reporter tells us, and when the polished orator was through, he arose, adjusted his glasses, and with no oratorical show began to read his address, written on a large sheet or sheets of paper which fluttered in his hand. Lincoln's simple power and pathos held his hearers spellbound. Says Dr. Remensnyder: "The time, in the midst of the great war for the Union; the scene, the crucial battlefield of the struggle, the hills and the woods about us still echoing with the roar of guns and artillery; and, above all, the thousands of hero graves encircling us, contributed to heighten the moral grandeur of the moment. Then, too, more impressive even than the address, the personality of the man himself, incarnating the great issues, shone forth with a compelling power."

This address is considered one of the two or three most memorable in the political annals of the human race.

Lincoln was elected again in November, 1864, by an electoral vote of 212 to 21. General McClellan, nominated by the Democrats, was Lincoln's opponent. At one time Lincoln himself had slight hopes of being re-

elected. Though he was the candidate of the Republican party, there was powerful opposition in it to his renomination. Many thought Lincoln too slow and too conservative in dealing with the rebellion. The opposition platform in substance declared the war a failure, and demanded that "immediate effort be made for the cessation of hostilities." President Davis of the Confederacy had declared that he would listen to no offers of peace except on the ground that the North recognize the independence of the Confederacy. Grant's Wilderness campaign (May-June, 1864) had brought no comfort to the Administration. The people had become weary of the long war, which seemed less hopeful than a few months before. But the military situation from August to well into October had aroused new hopes. Farragut, Sherman, and Sheridan had won victories for the Union, which were the most powerful arguments for the Republican cause.

When Lincoln drove to the Capitol to be inaugurated for the second time, a rain was falling, and the day was gloomy. As Lincoln was about to take the oath, however, the sun burst through the clouds, which Lincoln said made his "heart jump." "The people listened to his inaugural, awed by solemn and stately beauty, gazing upon him as if he were a prophet speaking by inspiration." Lincoln himself seemed to prefer this Inaugural to any of his other papers. Of it he said in writing to a friend: "I expect the latter to wear as well as — perhaps better than — anything I have produced." Few state papers have expressed in such effective language the deep emotion and the feeling of religious aspiration and hope..

THE MONROE DOCTRINE (Page 48)

James Monroe (1758-1831) was the fifth President of the United States. When still in his teens he fought for the cause of freedom in the New World in the American Revolution. He held many prominent public positions. He was governor of Virginia, Senator of the United States, minister to both England and France, President

Madison's Secretary of State, and twice President of the United States. He died in New York City, July 4, 1831.

Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew the Spanish dynasty and placed his brother Joseph upon the Spanish throne, June 6, 1808. This changed existing European conditions at that time. The fact that the Spanish colonies in South America were oppressed by heavy taxation, commercial hardships, and bad governors led them to break away from Spain (1807-1825). They proclaimed themselves republics, and were recognized by President Monroe as independent nations May 4, 1822. The allied powers of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France (the Holy Alliance) pledged themselves to restore all the "legitimate thrones" which the Napoleonic wars had overthrown, and their intention was to restore also to Spain her rebellious colonies in South America. Great Britain invited the United States to join with her in warning the Holy Alliance not to disturb the new South American republics. Although President Monroe, ex-Presidents Madison and Jefferson all heartily approved Great Britain's suggestion, yet Secretary of State J. Q. Adams convinced President Monroe that we ought not to follow England's lead, but rather assume full and sole responsibility ourselves for the protection of the republics on the American continent. In his annual message to Congress of December 2, 1823, the President issued the famous statement which has since been known as the Monroe Doctrine. It is not a part of international law, since no foreign nations have officially accepted it as binding upon them. America's entrance into the World War of 1914 is a fulfillment of this Doctrine, and is not in opposition to it. If the United States should join a League of Nations to Enforce Peace, this act would be a still greater fulfillment of the Monroe Doctrine. The object of that Doctrine is to protect and defend democracy in the New World from the autocracy of the Old World.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT (Page 51)

Daniel Webster's (1782-1852) ancestors were Puritans and came from England. His family settled in New Hampshire in 1636. The Websters were numerous in this colony, and Daniel's father, Ebenezer Webster, did noteworthy service in the French and Indian War. He also captained two hundred fellow settlers in the battles of the Revolution. His father became a judge in his own town, Salisbury, New Hampshire, though he never had a day's schooling in his life. Daniel was born in this town, January 18, 1782. When young he was frail, and because of this was kept out of school for a time, yet he learned much from nature, from everything he could find to read, and from committing good literature to memory. He was sent to Phillips Exeter Academy when fourteen years old; but in February, 1797, he was put under a private teacher, and was overjoyed when he learned that his father, poor as he was, intended to send him to college. According to accepted standards Daniel was poorly prepared to enter Dartmouth College in August, 1797. But, once in, he became the foremost student there. He was proficient in Latin, and in knowledge of history and literature was superior to any other student in Dartmouth. He graduated in 1801, and entered the law office of a neighboring lawyer. In order to keep his older brother in college at Dartmouth, Daniel gave up his law studies and began to teach school in Maine. He was a successful teacher. Later, after his brother graduated, he went to Boston and was admitted to the practice of law in 1805. He was opposed to the War of 1812. This opposition led him to make public addresses, and as a result he was sent to Congress twice. He was Secretary of State under Harrison and Tyler (1841), and when Fillmore became President, in 1850, became for the second time Secretary of State. He was twice an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, 1844 and 1848. Webster died October 23, 1852. He is considered one of the most remarkable men in American history.

The monument on Bunker Hill was erected to Dr. Joseph Warren, who was shot down by the British forces in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 16, 1775. Warren was a major-general in the Continental Army. This monument was dedicated to the cause of democracy and liberty, June 17, 1825, half a century after the battle. Daniel Webster was president of the Bunker Hill Monument Association at the time of the laying of the corner stone. General Lafayette assisted Webster in the ceremony. It is said that fully twenty thousand people were present, among them two hundred veterans of the Revolution. The celebration of the completion of the monument was held June 17, 1843, at which time Webster, then Secretary of State, was again the orator. The monument itself is a noteworthy achievement, being built of granite, and rising to the height of one hundred and twenty-one feet. This oration is unquestionably a work of art and a masterpiece of literature. It offers the student an excellent opportunity to study good style in oratory. The unity of the oration is pronouncedly noticeable. Among other things the reader should note Webster's deep feeling of the great changes during fifty years of our history, and the great influence of our country on human freedom and human happiness.

THE AMERICAN UNION (Page 74)

In 1828 Congress passed a tariff bill known as the "Tariff of Abominations," which met bitter opposition, especially in the southern states. John C. Calhoun, the Vice-President, drew up an "Exposition and Protest" in which he denounced the tariff "as an act of tyranny on the part of the majority, and as directly contrary to the evident spirit of the Constitution." He also claimed that a protective tariff was unconstitutional, and that any state, in case it considered an Act of Congress injurious and unconstitutional, had a constitutional right peacefully to nullify the law within her borders until such time as an amendment to the Constitution made the law constitutional. South Carolina did not press this matter

at once because she expected that President Jackson, elected in November, 1828, would come to her aid.

In the first Congress under Jackson an inquiry was proposed (1830) respecting the sale of public lands. The resolution on this matter led to the great debate between Webster and Hayne on the floor of the Senate (January 19-29, 1830), and to the greatest speech ever delivered by a member in the halls of Congress — Webster's reply to Hayne, from which the paragraphs on "The American Union" are taken. Hayne supported the doctrine of Calhoun in his exposition. Daniel Webster replied showing the unreasonableness of the doctrine of nullification and the soundness of the doctrine of the indissolubility of the American Union. The question under discussion went to the very foundations of the American system of government. The question was: Did the Constitution create an indestructible nation, or did it simply establish a league of states, each of which was sovereign and possessed of authority to break up the Union? President Jackson, to the great disappointment of the Democrats, supported Webster's position because he saw that the doctrine that a state had the right to decide for itself when it would obey Congress and when it would not was destructive of all true national government. Henry Clay secured a compromise tariff, March, 1833, and the crisis of civil strife was thereby averted. The effect of this speech was that patriotism had a new birth and thousands were made to feel that the Republic rested upon unshakable foundations.

DEMOCRACY (Page 76)

James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), an American poet of distinction, was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 22, 1819, the son of a preacher. He graduated from Harvard in 1838, and secured the degree of A.M. from that college in 1841. Soon after graduation he devoted almost all of his time to literature, founding a magazine called the *Pioneer* in 1842. He contributed many political articles to various publications, in this way wielding considerable influence in the politics of his

time. He published many volumes of verse and prose essays which have gained a permanent place among the classics of modern times. He succeeded Longfellow as professor of the French and Spanish languages in Harvard. He was editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* from 1857 to 1862, and with Charles Eliot Norton edited the *North American Review* from 1863 to 1872. He became a member of the Republican party in 1856; was elected presidential elector in 1876; and was appointed, in 1877, minister to Spain by President Hayes. President Garfield appointed him minister to the court of St. James, London, in 1880. He delivered many public lectures, and was prized as an after-dinner speaker. The last years of his life were spent in the old Lowell homestead, "Elmwood," on the Charles River, Cambridge.

These paragraphs, with the exception of the last, are taken from an address delivered by Lowell on assuming the presidency of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, Birmingham, England, October 6, 1884. The last paragraph is from another address by the same author.

Two poems (pages 215 and 216) give evidence of the ardent patriotism of Mr. Lowell.

WORKING OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (Page 77)

Charles William Eliot (1834-) was born at Boston, Massachusetts, and is a noteworthy educator. He graduated from Harvard in 1853, was president of Harvard from 1869 to 1909, and since has been president emeritus. He has been specially honored by France, Japan, and Italy, and is a member of various distinguished foreign societies. He is a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation. He has delivered a great many noteworthy addresses on educational and scientific subjects, and is the author of more than a dozen books and pamphlets. An evidence of his being considered one of the foremost citizens of the American Republic is found in his having been offered the appointment of American Ambassador to the Court of St. James (London) by both President Taft and President Wilson. He declined both offers.

This selection on American democracy from Doctor Eliot is taken from an address entitled "The Working of the American Democracy," which was delivered before the fraternity Phi Beta Kappa, at Harvard University, June 28, 1888. The address should be read in full, and likewise the address from which is taken "Five American Contributions to Civilization." (See page 79.) The latter was delivered at Chautauqua, August 19, 1896. These two addresses and sixteen other addresses and magazine articles constitute a volume by Dr. Eliot, which is entitled "American Contributions to Civilization." It is published by The Century Company, New York.

DEMOCRACY (Page 80)

Henry van Dyke (1852-) was born at Germantown, Pennsylvania, November 10, 1852, and is a distinguished man of letters and a man of genuine and liberal culture. He is a graduate of Princeton University, and the recipient of numerous degrees from various American and foreign educational institutions. He was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1879, and made a famous record as preacher, particularly while pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City. He was professor of English literature at Princeton from 1900 to 1913, when he was appointed minister to Netherlands and Luxemburg, by President Wilson. The list of books, both prose and poetry, of which he is author is a long one. They are known in many lands, having been translated into various languages. He is popular as college preacher, public lecturer, and after-dinner speaker.

This selection on "Democracy," the one on "The Home as a Nation Builder," which follows (page 82), the one on "Education in a Republic" (page 84), and the one on page 85 are taken from Dr. van Dyke's book called *Essays in Application*. The selections are merely portions of the essays in the volume. The entire volume rings true to American ideals. It is published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE TYPICAL AMERICAN (Page 89)

Nicholas Murray Butler (1862-) is a noted publicist. He was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey. No less than fifteen educational institutions have bestowed the honorary degree of LL.D. upon him, and in 1905 the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Litt.D. He has been president of Columbia University since January, 1902, and is a member or officer of more than a score of educational, literary, and political organizations, and is the author of a number of volumes dealing with educational, political, and philosophical subjects. He is greatly sought as lecturer and after-dinner speaker. Many of his epigrammatic statements, such as this one and others found in this volume, have been printed and widely circulated in the United States.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP (Page 90)

Grover Cleveland (1837-1908) was born at Caldwell, New Jersey. He was the son of a poor Presbyterian minister, and was of New England descent. He grew up in western New York, and supported himself as best he could by tending a country store. He taught in an asylum for the blind, and acted as clerk in a lawyer's office in Buffalo. He received his academic education in Clinton, New York. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in Buffalo. In 1881, when he was forty-five years old, he was elected mayor of the city of Buffalo on an independent ticket. From this position he was made governor of New York, and while governor was elected to the presidency of the United States, 1884. In 1888 he was renominated, but defeated. But in 1892 he was returned to the presidency with a democratic majority in both houses of Congress. He was a "self-made man." He died at Princeton, New Jersey.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Page 91)

Charles Evans Hughes (1862-) is a well-known American jurist, and political leader. He graduated

from Brown University in 1881. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1884; practiced law in New York, 1884-1891, 1893-1906; became professor of law at Cornell University in 1891, and held that position until 1893; was special lecturer, New York Law School, 1893-1900. He became nationally prominent owing to his investigation of the record of some of the largest insurance companies in New York City, 1905-1906. In 1905 he was nominated for office of mayor of New York City by the Republican Convention, but declined. He became governor of New York, January 1, 1907, and served as governor until he resigned, October 6, 1910. President Taft appointed him associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, May 2, 1910. This position he held until June, 1916, when he resigned, because he was nominated for the presidency of the United States by the Republican party. He is a statesman of administrative political experience and a lawyer of a highly developed judicial mind.

At Yale University each year is given a course of lectures on "The Responsibilities of Citizenship" by "a lecturer of distinguished attainments and high conception of civic responsibilities." The fund which makes possible these annual lectures on this most important topic was given to Yale University about 1900 by Mr. William E. Dodge. In 1910 Mr. Hughes was selected as the lecturer possessing the qualifications set forth by the founder of the fund as quoted above. The Yale University Press has now published more than a dozen volumes of these lectures. This selection from Mr. Hughes is from one of the four lectures in the 1910 series given by him at Yale.

THE SPIRIT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT (Page 96)

Elihu Root (1845-) was born in Clinton, New York. He graduated from Hamilton College in 1864, and taught at Rome Academy after his graduation. He studied law at New York University, receiving his LL.B. in 1867. Honorary degrees have been bestowed upon him by many

American educational institutions, as well as by the University of Buenos Aires, McGill University, the University of Leyden, and Oxford University. He was admitted to the bar in 1867, and practiced law in New York. From 1883 to 1885 he was United States district attorney, Southern District of New York, was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President McKinley, and Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt. He served as United States Senator from New York from 1909 to 1915; was president of the New York Constitutional Convention in 1915. He was a member of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal in 1903, and consul for the United States in the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration, 1910. In 1910 he became a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, and in the same year was president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was president of The Hague Tribunal of Arbitration between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal concerning church property in 1913. In 1912 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1917 President Wilson appointed him head of a special diplomatic mission to Russia.

“The Spirit of Self-Government” is the title of an address delivered by Elihu Root at the one hundred and forty-fourth anniversary banquet of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, November 21, 1912.

THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO RULE (Page 101)

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) from 1901 to 1914 filled the stage of American public life perhaps more completely and conspicuously than did any other American. Honors too numerous to be mentioned in full have been showered upon him. A long list of colleges and universities have bestowed degrees upon him, among them Cambridge University, Oxford University, and the University of Berlin. He was a member of the New York Legislature from 1882 to 1884 at the early age of twenty-four, and was a delegate to the Republican National Con-

vention in 1884, where he opposed the nomination of James G. Blaine for the presidency. The next two years he spent on a ranch, roughing it in North Dakota, strengthening his feeble health. He was appointed to the Civil Service Commission by President Harrison in 1889, and served on it until 1895. Then for two years he was president of the New York Police Board, and became assistant secretary of the navy in 1897, resigning (1898) to organize the First United States Cavalry (commonly spoken of as the Roosevelt Rough Riders) for the Spanish-American War. In that year he was made a colonel for bravery in battle in the Spanish War, and, returning to New York as a military hero, was elected governor of the Empire State in the autumn of the same year (1898). He was elected Vice-President of the United States, November 4, 1900, and succeeded to the presidency upon the death of William McKinley, September 14, 1901. On November 8, 1904, he was elected President of the United States by the largest majority, both in the electoral vote (336 to 140) and in the popular vote (7,624,489 to 5,082,754), ever recorded in our history to that time, and by the largest plurality vote (2,545,515), ever given to any President of the United States. In 1912 he was the Progressive Party's candidate for the presidency. The Nobel Peace Prize, consisting of \$40,000 and a medal, was awarded to him in 1906.

These paragraphs on "The Right of the People to Rule" are the concluding ones of a speech delivered by Mr. Roosevelt at Carnegie Hall, New York City, under the auspices of the Civic Forum, Wednesday evening, March 20, 1912. In granting permission to reprint these paragraphs, Colonel Roosevelt wrote to the editor the following words: "That contains the sum of the principles for which I was fighting in 1912, for which I am fighting now, and for which I have always fought and always shall fight." They are well worth very serious study and thought.

POLITICAL ROUTINEER AND INVENTOR (Page 104)

Walter Lippmann (1889-) was born in New York City, September 23, 1889, and took his A.B. degree from Harvard in 1909. He did graduate work in philosophy at Harvard during 1909-1910. Mr. Lippmann is the author of *A Preface to Politics, Drift and Mastery*, and *The Stakes of Diplomacy*. He is the editor of *The Poems of Paul Mariett*.

THE MEANING OF THE FLAG (Page 105)

Woodrow Wilson (1856-) is the twenty-eighth President of the United States. He was born in Staunton, Va., December 28, 1856. His father was a preacher. He is of Scotch-Irish ancestry. He graduated from Princeton College in 1879; graduated in law from the University of Virginia, 1881; practiced law at Atlanta, Georgia, 1882-1883; and did post-graduate work at Johns Hopkins, 1883-1885. He holds the degree of A.B. and A.M. from Princeton; the degree of LL.D. from no less than nine colleges and universities, and the degree of Litt.D. from Yale. He taught history and political economy at Bryn Mawr College from 1885 to 1888, and was professor of the same subjects at Wesleyan University from 1888 to 1890. From 1890 to 1910 he was a professor in Princeton University, and president of Princeton from August 1, 1902, to October 20, 1910. He became governor of New Jersey, January, 1911, and served in that capacity until he resigned in March, 1913. The Democratic National Convention nominated him for President in 1912, to which office he was elected November 4, 1912. His political opponents in the 1912 election were Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive candidate, and William Howard Taft, the Republican candidate. In 1916 he was reëlected President. He is the author of numerous books and published addresses. He has become an international figure through his leadership of the United States during the Great War and through his interpretation of the higher purposes of the Allies in this struggle.

"The Meaning of the Flag" is an address given by President Wilson in June, 1915, and hence about two years before America entered the World War. It was delivered on June 14, from the south portico of the Treasury Building, Washington, D. C. The President reminds his hearers that "this is Flag Day," but points out that "there are no days of special patriotism."

A LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE (Page 108)

A. Lawrence Lowell (1856-) is president of Harvard University, and has held that position since May 19, 1909. He practiced law at Boston from 1880 to 1897, and was professor of the science of government at Harvard from 1900 to 1909. He is the author of several books dealing with politics, government, and public opinion. He has been and is a powerful factor in advancing the cause of international democracy by helping on the movement of a League of Nations to Enforce Peace.

The date of this article from the *Atlantic Monthly* shows that the World War had been going on for over a year when President Lowell wrote it. The League to Enforce Peace was formed in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, June 17, 1915. Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell is Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Ex-President William Howard Taft is President of the League.

PATRIOTISM (Page 117)

This selection on patriotism by Dr. Butler was originally given as part of an address by him before the Newport Historical Society, Newport, R. I., August 15, 1915. In 1917 it was copyrighted by Charles Scribner's Sons, and became part of a volume of addresses by Dr. Butler, which bears the title of *A World in Ferment*. In 1901 President Wilson, then a professor in Princeton University, wrote the following about modern democracy: "As a matter of fact democracy as we know it is no older than the end of the eighteenth century. The doctrines which sustain it can scarcely be said to derive any support at

all from the practices of the classical states. Modern democracy wears a very different aspect, and rests upon principles separated by the whole heaven from those of the Roman or Grecian democrat."

AMERICANISM (Page 119)

This selection on Americanism by Mr. Roosevelt is a portion of an address by him delivered before the Knights of Columbus, Carnegie Hall, New York City, October 12, 1915. The World War had been in progress somewhat over a year. In 1916 George H. Doran Company, New York, copyrighted this address along with other addresses, articles, and public statements by Mr. Roosevelt, and put them together in a volume entitled *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*. Mr. Roosevelt dedicated this book to Julia Ward Howe, who, he says, "was as good a citizen of the Republic as Washington and Lincoln themselves." In his introductory note to the book, Colonel Roosevelt says that "the principles set forth in this book are simply the principles of true Americanism within and without our own borders."

PAN-AMERICANISM (Page 126)

Robert Lansing (1864-) is Secretary of State of the United States. He was born in Watertown, New York, October 17, 1864. He graduated from Amherst College in 1886, and in 1915 was honored by both Amherst and Colgate in being awarded the degree of LL.D. In 1889 he was admitted to the bar, and was a member of the firm of Lansing & Lansing from 1889 to 1907. He was associate counsel for the United States in the Behring Sea Arbitration, 1892-1893; was solicitor for the United States in the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal in 1903; and served the Federal Government in various legal capacities up to June 23, 1915, when he was made Secretary of State by President Wilson. He is associate editor of the *American Journal of International Law*.

This address was delivered before the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, held at Washington D. C., from December 27, 1915, to January 8, 1916. This Congress considered a multitude of subjects in pursuance of its "high aims and purposes: namely, to increase the knowledge of things American; to disseminate and to make the culture of each American country the heritage of all American republics; to further the advancement of science by disinterested coöperation; to promote industry, inter-American trade and commerce; and to devise ways and means of mutual helpfulness."

The first Pan-American Scientific Congress was held at Santiago in 1908.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BAR (Page 132)

The address on Individual Liberty and the Responsibility of the Bar, from which the paragraphs here given were taken, was delivered by Mr. Root at the annual dinner of the New York State Bar Association, January 15, 1916. It is fortunate that the addresses are collected in several volumes, covering the period of his services as Secretary of War, as Secretary of State, and as Senator of the United States, during which time, as he himself once said, his only client was his country. The Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, has published this edition. This address by Mr. Root is from the volume entitled *Addresses on Government and Citizenship*. The dinner at which this address was given was arranged specially to commemorate Mr. Root's reëntry into the legal profession, after many years of absence from it "because of the engrossing character of duties in the Departments and in the Senate in Washington." He said: "I have come back to my old friends and my old haunts and taken up the old course of going up and down town daily, as I used to forty or fifty years ago."

PATRIOTISM (Page 137)

Lyman Abbott (1835-) is a noted editor, author, and preacher. His birthplace is Roxbury, Massachusetts. He graduated from New York University in 1853, was admitted to the New York bar in 1856, and is still a member of it. In 1860 he was ordained to the Congregational ministry, and since then has served as pastor of a number of churches, the most noted of which was the Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn (1869-1899), where he succeeded the distinguished preacher, Henry Ward Beecher. He was associate editor with Henry Ward Beecher of *The Christian Union*, and since 1893 he has been editor-in-chief of *The Outlook*. He has served as political and religious guide to hosts of Americans.

WHAT THE FLAG MEANS (Page 138)

In June, 1916, Mr. Hughes, then a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered this address to a graduating class in Washington, D. C.

THE CHALLENGE (Page 142)

Why did the United States enter the Great War? The answer is simple and sufficient. America believes in two kinds, and only two kinds, of wars. She believes in a war of self-defense, and in a war of rescue, liberation, emancipation, and freedom. America entered the Great War on the basis of self-defense and of rescue and freedom.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE (Page 155)

This is another illustration of Doctor Butler's epigrammatic statements which say so much in so small compass. There are several sentences in this short characterization that are worthy of serious discussion.

THE MENACE (Page 156)

This address by President Wilson states in a masterly way the real nature of German intrigue and aggression in this country, both before America entered the war and after she entered it.

THE DELIVERERS (Page 163)

The Outlook began its existence in 1869 as *The Christian Union*, succeeding a small paper known as *The Church Union*. Its first editor-in-chief was Henry Ward Beecher. Dr. Lyman Abbott became associate editor with Mr. Beecher in 1876 and editor-in-chief in 1881 when Mr. Beecher retired, which position he still holds.

The name of the paper was changed from *The Christian Union* to *The Outlook* in 1893.

WHY WE ARE FIGHTING GERMANY (Page 165)

Franklin K. Lane (1864-) was born in Prince Edward Island, Canada. He was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Wilson, March 5, 1913. In early childhood he moved to California, and graduated from the University of California in 1886. He engaged in newspaper work early in life, and later acted as New York correspondent for western papers. He at one time was part owner and editor of the *Tacoma Daily News*. In 1889 he was admitted to the California bar and began the practice of law in San Francisco. In 1902 he ran for the governorship of California. From December, 1905, to March 4, 1913, he was a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him in 1915 by New York University.

A JUST AND GENEROUS PEACE (Page 172)

This address of President Wilson should be remembered and studied, if for nothing else, for his laconic description of the present German Government as "a Thing without

conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace." But there are other things for which it should be remembered. It makes clear as crystal the issue that confronted the Allies (the United States included) in the Great War. In it he speaks the very thought of the American people. He and they would countenance no compromise to secure peace. Justice and equality of rights must be secured, whatever the cost, for *all* nations. It shows the necessity of a complete and lasting defeat of a nation whose God is Might, and which knows no law except the law of necessity.

This address was delivered before a joint session of Congress, December 4, 1917, at Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL UNITY (Page 183), AND NATIONAL TRAINING FOR NATIONAL SERVICE (Page 186)

The Commercial Club of St. Louis, Missouri, was addressed by Dr. Butler on February 16, 1918. His topic was "A Program of Constructive Progress." These two selections are from that address.

THE NEWSPAPER (Page 189)

Fred Newton Scott (1877-) is professor of rhetoric in the University of Michigan. From that university he holds the degrees of A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. He is a well-known writer of books and contributor to magazines.

"The Newspaper" constitutes inscriptions of ideals adopted by the well-known daily, *The Detroit News*, Detroit, Michigan. The author of the ideals of "The Newspaper" is Professor Fred Newton Scott of the University of Michigan. Of course *The Detroit News* does not claim to live up completely to these ideals, but the courage to set them forth as its ideals, and the attempt to live up to them, are highly commendable, and indicate the spirit and the function of the American daily. These ideals should be learned by heart by every American citizen and transmuted into character.

FORCE TO THE UTMOST (Page 190)

This address by President Wilson, familiarly known as his "Force to the Utmost" speech, was delivered at Baltimore, Maryland, April 6, 1918. He went to Baltimore to discuss the third Liberty Loan. When this address was given, Americans were no longer under an illusion about the Prussian menace. They knew that if Germany should win in Europe, her next attack in her design to dominate the world would be against the United States and South America. Americans had come to feel by this time more than ever that they were fighting to make their own homes safe for their children, as well as to make the world safe for democracy.

THE AMERICAN'S CREED (Page 194)

William Tyler Page (1868—), who is now minority clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., was born at Frederick, Maryland, October 19, 1868. He attended the Frederick Academy, and the public schools of Baltimore, and on December 19, 1881, he entered the service of the House of Representatives as a page. Since then he has served in the House continuously, holding the following positions: file clerk, journal clerk, tally clerk, clerk to the Committee on Accounts, minority clerk of the House. In the 65th Congress he was the Republican nominee for Clerk of the House, and was Republican nominee for Congress from the second district of Maryland in 1902. He is the author of Page's *Congressional Handbook*, and collaborated in the preparation of the House Manual of Rules and Parliamentary Practice.

"GASSING" THE WORLD'S MIND (Page 195)

William Thomas Ellis (1873—) is one of America's well-known writers. He has traveled extensively throughout the world. He was born in Alleghany, Pennsylvania. He has been editorially connected with a number of Philadelphia dailies; was editor of the International

Christian Endeavor organ, 1894-1897; editor of *Forward*, a Presbyterian weekly, 1897-1902; *Philadelphia Press* editor, 1903-1908. He has lectured and made addresses in all parts of the United States, and is the author of a number of volumes dealing particularly with religious topics.

INDEPENDENCE BELL (Page 203)

It is not known who wrote these verses entitled "Independence Bell," but a few facts about the circumstances leading to the writing of this selection can be given. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, in the State House (Independence Hall) May 10, 1775. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the motion. Later a committee of five was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson drew up the paper, though some changes were made in it by the committee and by Congress. It was adopted on the evening of July 4, 1776. When it was adopted, the event was announced by ringing the old State House bell, which bore the inscription, "Proclaim Liberty Throughout the Land, to All the Inhabitants Thereof!" The venerable bellman had his grandson stand at the door of the hall, to await the announcement of the event by the door keeper. When the grandson was given the signal, he rushed to where he could see his grandfather, and shouted, "Ring, ring, ring!"

HAIL, COLUMBIA (Page 205)

Joseph Hopkinson (1770-1842), an American jurist, was born in Philadelphia, November 12, 1770. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, 1786, and practiced law in Easton, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia. He conducted the defense in the impeachment trial of Associate Justice Samuel Chase, and was a Representative in Congress from 1817 to 1819. President J. Q. Adams

appointed him judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1828-1842. He wrote many addresses and articles as well as "Hail, Columbia." He died in Philadelphia, January 15, 1842.

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER (Page 207)

Francis Scott Key (1780-1843), lawyer and poet, was born in Frederick County, Maryland, August 9, 1780. He graduated from St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, practiced law at Frederick in 1801, and later after going to Washington became district attorney of the District of Columbia. He was buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery, Frederick, Maryland.

Shortly before the close of the War of 1812, the British bombarded Fort McHenry. During this action Key was held a prisoner by the British aboard a small ship. He was in extreme suspense about the outcome of this engagement, and was relieved in the early dawn by the sight of the Stars and Stripes still floating over the fort. Under inspiration of this sight, he wrote on the back of a letter the first draft of "The Star-Spangled Banner." It became popular almost immediately upon being printed. A large national flag is kept floating over Key's grave.

THE AMERICAN FLAG (Page 208)

Joseph Rodman Drake (1795-1820) was a poet and newspaper contributor, who was born in New York City. His father and mother both died when he was very young. From childhood he showed a special talent for writing poetry. He entered business life, but did not like it, and then decided in 1813 to study medicine, which he began to practice three years later. In 1819 he made daily contributions to the New York *Evening Post*. He died in New York City, September 21, 1820.

AMERICA (Page 210)

Samuel Francis Smith (1808-1895) was born in Boston, attended the Boston Latin School, and graduated from Harvard, 1829, and from the Andover Theological Seminary in 1832. He was a Baptist minister, and taught modern languages at Colby University, 1834-1841. He edited several religious periodicals, and besides being the author of "America," he wrote many other productions, among which are "The Morning Light is Breaking," and "Rock of Ages." He died in Boston, November 16, 1895.

CONCORD HYMN (Page 211)

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), an American philosopher and poet of renown, was born in Boston, May 25, 1803. His father was a preacher. Even in childhood Emerson was fond of writing, and at the age of eleven wrote a version, quite a good one, of a part of Virgil. At the age of fourteen he entered Harvard College, and did remarkable work in Greek, history, declamation, and composition. He was the class poet. He studied theology in Harvard in 1823, and became an ordained minister in 1829. His church was opened to all reformers, since Emerson himself was interested in all public questions. He was a Unitarian early in his ministry. He did considerable lecturing on various subjects. From 1842 to 1844 he was editor of *The Dial*. He made many contributions to *The Atlantic Monthly*, and wrote and lectured a great deal on the abolition of slavery. President Lincoln sought an introduction to Emerson after he had listened to one of Emerson's lectures against slavery. In 1866, Harvard honored him with the degree of LL.D. He is the author of many volumes of essays, poems, letters, and sketches. He died at Concord, Massachusetts, April 27, 1882.

On April 19, 1836, a monument was dedicated in honor of the patriots who fell in the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. This monument was erected at Concord; Emerson wrote this hymn for the occasion.

THE BATTLE-FIELD (Page 212)

William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) was sent to the district school in Cummington, Massachusetts, when he was four years old, and attended the school until he was twelve. He wrote a poem in his eleventh year, and recited it at the close of the winter school. In 1809 he wrote a satire attacking President Jefferson. He attended college at Williams and at Yale, but for financial reasons was unable to complete his course. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1815. In 1818, he became regular contributor to the *North American Review*. By 1823 his poems had won him a European reputation. In 1836 he became editor and part owner of the *New York Evening Post*. At first he was a Democrat, but later became a Republican. In 1873 he was made an honorary member of the Russian Academy at St. Petersburg. In his eighty-first year he wrote "The Flood of Tears." He died from the results of a fall soon after he delivered the address at the unveiling of the statue of Mazzini in Central Park, New York.

"The Battle-Field" is thought by many critics to be Bryant's most worthy poem. It appeared in the *Democratic Magazine* for October, 1837. It is not certain what battlefield was in the author's mind.

COLUMBIA, THE GEM OF THE OCEAN (Page 214)

There is some discussion as to the authorship of this song. A theatrical performer by the name of Thomas à Becket claimed the authorship. He declared that David T. Shaw requested him to write a song for Shaw to be sung by Shaw for his benefit night in Philadelphia. À Becket said he wrote it, and Shaw sang it. It seems to be safe to say that the name and the idea of the song originated with Shaw, but the words and music were written and composed by à Becket. It is difficult to find very much about either one of these men, both of whom were interested in the theater, and traveled as

theatrical performers. Æ Becket retired from the stage and lived in Philadelphia in 1879, where he was a teacher of music. This song also goes under the title of "The Red, White, and Blue," and in England is popular under that title and "Britannia the Pride of the Ocean."

STANZAS ON FREEDOM (Page 215)

The West Indies lie between the southern part of Florida and the Gulf of Paria, Venezuela, South America. Among these islands are Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, and Porto Rico. Jamaica became an English possession, May, 1655, when Oliver Cromwell was head of the Protectorate. Slavery could not exist in the British Isles after 1807, for at that time England abolished the slave trade. But slavery did exist in the West Indies. The West Indian planters stoutly resented an agitation for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. But a bill was passed in Parliament in August, 1833, decreeing that slavery should cease August 1, 1834. A gift of 20,000,000 pounds (about \$100,000,000) was made to slave owners as compensation for the loss of their property.

These stanzas were sung at the anti-slavery picnic in Dedham on the anniversary of West Indian emancipation, August 1, 1843.

James Russell Lowell is considered one of our greatest men of letters. Among his works are the following: *Poems* (1844); *The Vision of Sir Launfal* (1845); *Poems* (1848); *The Biglow Papers*, First Series (1848), Second Series (1867); *Poems* (1849); *Poetical Works* (1869); *Among My Books*, First Series (1870), Second Series (1876); *My Study Windows* (1871); *Democracy and Other Addresses* (1887).

THE PRESENT CRISIS (Page 216)

This poem was written in December, 1844, and published by Lowell in a second series of his poems in 1848.

The political situation in 1844 was as follows: The presidential campaign of that year centered about the

annexation of Texas. Mexico declared herself independent of Spain in 1821, and Texas was one of her "states" at that time. From the beginning of the nineteenth century Americans had been going over into Texas, and by 1830 their influence there was considered by the Mexican President so threatening that he forbade all further immigration from the United States into Texas. The settlers of Texas being mainly Americans now prepared for rebellion and desired to form an independent slave state. The Texans petitioned for separation from Coahuila, a Mexican province to whom they had been subjected by the Mexican President. Mexico would not grant this request. The Texans declared their independence March, 1836, and won it the following month. The Republic of Texas was set up immediately. President Jackson promptly recognized its independence. The Texans hoped and expected annexation to the United States.

In the campaign of 1844 the Abolitionists, those who wished to abolish slavery outright, appeared as the Liberty party, and were against the annexation of Texas. The Whig party would not commit itself on the subject of annexation. But the Democratic platform boldly declared for the annexation of Texas, and nominated James K. Polk for the presidency. The Democrats won the election. But the Congress and President Tyler did not wait for the new administration to take favorable action on the admission of Texas. A joint resolution passed the House by a vote of 120 to 98 and the Senate by 27 to 25. Thus Texas became a state in the Union, March 1, 1845.

In studying "The Present Crisis" and the preceding selection, "Stanzas on Freedom," the student can easily determine Lowell's position on the question of slavery and human freedom. In them are found "strains of poet and preacher," and they constitute an "inspiring expression of moral passion."

THE SHIP OF STATE (Page 221)

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), a distinguished American poet, began his school life at the

age of three, and entered public school in Love Lane, Portland, Maine, in 1812. From here he was at once sent to a private school. He attended Bowdoin College, and then went to Europe to fit himself for the chair of modern languages at Bowdoin. He studied and traveled in England, France, Spain, and Germany, returning to America in 1829. In that year he became professor in Bowdoin, and prepared his own text-books in French, Italian, and Spanish. In 1836 he became professor of French and Spanish languages at Harvard. He wrote dozens of articles and published many books. He visited Europe several times, and while there was entertained by men of distinction, among them Charles Dickens and Tennyson. He has been termed the "American poet laureate." England thought so much of him that a bust of Longfellow was placed in the Poets' Corner at Westminster Abbey in March, 1884. America never tires of his "Evangeline," "Hiawatha," and "The Village Blacksmith."

BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC (Page 222)

Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910) was born in New York City, May 27, 1819, soon after the War of 1812. Her father was a successful banker, and gave her an education very liberal for her time. She married the noted New York philanthropist, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe. Before the Civil War she conducted with her husband *The Commonwealth*, an anti-slavery paper. In 1861 she wrote the famous "Battle Hymn of the Republic." In 1867 she went to Greece, and in 1869 became devoted to the cause of woman suffrage. She was a delegate to the World's Prison Reform Congress in London in 1872. Mrs. Howe has written many prose and poetical works; edited *Sex and Education*; was associate editor of the *Woman's Journal*, and contributed to many newspapers and magazines.

In 1918 Dr. Henry van Dyke wrote a stanza in answer to a request of the United States Marines in the training camp at Quantico. In writing to the editor concerning this stanza, Dr. van Dyke said :

Avalon, Princeton, N. J.
June 20, 1918

J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

Seekonk, Mass.

Dear Sir :

Your favor of June 15th is duly received. In regard to the stanza to which you refer, it was *not* written as an addition or emendation to Mrs. Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." It was merely an impromptu, composed in answer to the request of the U. S. Marines in the training camp at Quantico, who wished for a verse to express the spirit with which they had volunteered for this war, and who wanted to sing it to the old tune of John Brown's Body, which Mrs. Howe adapted for her Hymn. I gave strict instructions that the stanza should not be regarded as a part of that Hymn, but should be sung only after the Hymn was completed, to express the thought that the great result of the Civil War, the establishment of human freedom in our country, is the very thing for which we are fighting now on a larger scale and on behalf of mankind. My stanza should not be used or printed without this explanation.

Yours truly,

HENRY VAN DYKE

The words of this stanza follow :

We have heard the cry of anguish from the victims of the
Hun,
And we know our country's peril if the war lord's will is
done —
We will fight for world wide freedom till the victory is won,
For God is marching on.

UNION AND LIBERTY (Page 223)

Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894) attended Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, and graduated from Harvard in 1829. He wrote frequently for college publications, and wrote and delivered the poem at com-

mencement time. He later studied medicine at Harvard, and became professor of anatomy and physiology at Dartmouth College from 1838 to 1840. Then he practiced medicine in Boston. In 1847 he was appointed professor of anatomy and physiology at Harvard, and was dean of the medical school there from 1847 to 1853. Dr. Holmes did much lecturing and an abundance of writing. He was one of the founders of the *Atlantic Monthly* and contributed to it his well-known series of papers entitled "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." He resigned his professorship in Harvard in 1882, and from that time lived a retired but active life in Boston until his death, October 7, 1894.

BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM (Page 224)

George F. Root (1820-1895), an American musician and song-writer of considerable note, was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, August 30, 1820. He spent his youth in North Reading, not far from Boston, his father having moved there when George was only six years old. He was always very fond of music, and at thirteen he could "play a tune" upon as many instruments as he was years old. He said in the story of his life, "There was a chronic curiosity in the village choir as to what instrument the boy would play upon next." The dream of his life was to be a musician. His musical books and his sheet-music compositions are altogether too numerous to list. He brought out books almost every year, and sometimes three and four each year, from 1847 to 1890. One man who served in that war said of Dr. Root's war songs: "Only those who were at the front realize how often we were cheered, revived, and inspired by the songs of him who sent forth the 'Battle Cry of Freedom.' While others led the boys in blue to final victory, it was his songs that nerved the men at the front, and solaced the wives, mothers, sisters, and sweethearts at home." Colonel F. D. Grant said: "His songs were a great comfort to the soldiers during the war, and helped to lighten the fatigues of many a weary march." "The Battle Cry of Freedom,"

"Tramp, Tramp, Tramp," and "Just before the Battle, Mother" were among Dr. Root's most popular songs in the camps and on the battlefields of the Civil War.

In the story of his own life, Dr. Root says: "I heard of President Lincoln's second call for troops one afternoon while reclining on a lounge in my brother's house. Immediately a song started in my mind, words and music together:

"'Yes, we'll rally round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again, Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.'

"I thought it out that afternoon, and wrote it the next morning at the store. The song went into the army, and the testimony in regard to its use in the camp and on the march, and even on the field of battle, from soldiers and officers, up to generals, and even to the good President himself (Abraham Lincoln), made me thankful that if I could not shoulder a musket in defense of my country I could serve her in this way."

THE SWORD OF BUNKER HILL (Page 225)

William Ross Wallace (1819-1881) was born in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1819. He attended Bloomington and South Hanover College, Indiana, and afterward studied law in Lexington, Kentucky, and began the practice of law in New York City in 1841. He devoted most of his time to literature. He contributed to the *Union Magazine*, *Harper's*, the *New York Ledger*, and other publications. He is the author of a number of poems besides the one quoted in this volume. He died in New York City, May 5, 1881.

THE REVOLUTIONARY RISING (Page 226)

Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-1872) was an artist and poet. After his father's death he was apprenticed to a tailor, but so disliked this work that he secretly went

to Philadelphia, where he worked at manufacturing cigars. In 1837 he went to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he became a sign-painter. He did not attend school regularly. He was employed in a theater in Dayton, Ohio, for a year, and then returned to Cincinnati as a portrait painter. He made little money, and was forced to make a living by sign-painting, cigar-making, readings, and dramatic performances. He lived in New York in 1841, and in Boston, where he contributed poems to the *Courier*, 1843-1844. He traveled abroad in 1850 and in 1853, taking up art-study in Florence and Rome until 1858. During the Civil War he recited many of his National war-songs in the camps, and gave the proceeds of his readings to the aid and comfort of the wounded soldiers. He died in New York City, May 11, 1872.

"The Revolutionary Rising" as given in this volume is taken from "The Wagoner of the Alleghanies," a poem of the days of 1776. The scenes of this poem are mostly laid on the banks of the Schuylkill, between Philadelphia and Valley Forge. The complete poem covers a period of time extending from some years before to nearly the end of the Revolutionary War.

PAUL REVERE'S RIDE (Page 229)

Paul Revere was one of the most patriotic citizens of Boston in the time of the American Revolution. He was a goldsmith and engraver, and did a great deal to further the cause of American liberty. Paul Revere was captured by the British Regulars while performing his patriotic duty on this noted ride. Later he was set free.

BOSTON HYMN (Page 233)

The day that the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, January 1, 1863, this hymn was read in Music Hall, Boston, Massachusetts. The student should remember that Lincoln's proclamation did not free a single slave in the loyal slaveholding states of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware. It was only a war measure,

and the President had the right to confiscate property only where the states were in rebellion against the United States. Slavery was legally established in the Southern states, and the only way in which it could be abolished there, except in the case mentioned, was by amending the Federal Constitution, or by action of the states themselves.

LIBERTY FOR ALL (Page 237)

William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879) was among the most noted of the abolitionists. His parents came from Nova Scotia to Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1805. William became editor of the Newburyport *Free Press* in 1826, and was a firm friend of John G. Whittier. He was connected with several different papers before he established *The Liberator* in Boston, January 1, 1831, which he edited until slavery was abolished and the Civil War ended. The pro-slavery compromises of the Federal Constitution he described as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." A public subscription of \$30,000 was presented to him after the Civil War for his services.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (Page 237)

At the Harvard Commemoration, July 21, 1865, Lowell's Ode was recited. This selection is a part of that Ode.

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY (Page 239)

Francis Miles Finch (1827-), a jurist, was born in Ithaca, New York, and graduated from Yale in 1849. He was class poet. In 1850 he began the practice of law in Ithaca. He served for many years as judge of the court of appeals of New York State, and was commonly known as Judge Finch. The "Blue and the Gray" gave him a wide reputation.

"The Blue and the Gray" was printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1867. We are told that these stanzas were

inspired by the fact that the women of Columbus, Mississippi, placed flowers with no partiality upon the graves of the dead soldiers of both the Confederacy and the Union.

CENTENNIAL HYMN (Page 241)

John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, of Quaker descent. He was brought up in a simple country home, and his educational advantages were meager. Up to 1820 he had attended only the district schools. We are told that his poetic instinct was awakened by reading the poems of Burns. Whittier and William Lloyd Garrison were life-long friends, and they had mutually active interests in the problems of their day. Whittier earned money to attend Haverhill Academy. He wrote many poems and political contributions to magazines. He edited the *American Manufacturer* of Boston, but left its editorship to manage his father's farm until his father's death in June, 1830. After 1832, Whittier gave most of his attention to politics and was a strong abolitionist with Garrison. From 1832 to 1877 he did an enormous amount of writing and editing, and at the time of his death, September 7, 1892, was one of the most widely known of American writers.

This hymn was written for the International Exposition held in celebration of the completion of the first hundred years of American independence. The Exposition began May 10, 1876, when the "Centennial Hymn" was sung by a chorus of a thousand voices.

THE FLAG GOES BY (Page 243)

Henry Holcomb Bennett (1863-) is a writer and illustrator of note. He writes chiefly army stories. He is a water colorist in landscape, birds, and animals. In 1898-1899 he wrote a series of sketches and articles on the National Guard.

ROBERT E. LEE (Page 244)

In 1907 the one hundredth anniversary of General Lee's birth was celebrated at Richmond, Virginia. Lee was born at Stratford on the Potomac, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, January 19, 1807. He was the third son of Colonel Henry Lee and Anne Hill Carter, his second wife. General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox, April 9, 1865. On that morning he said: "There is nothing left but to go to General Grant, and I would rather die a thousand deaths." This shows his admirable soldier-spirit. "How easily I could get rid of this," he continued, "and be at rest. I have only to ride along the line and all will be over. *But it is our duty to live.* What will become of the women and children of the South, if we are not here to protect them?" This shows the other spirit that resided in this heroic and gallant man. When his soldiers knew that he had surrendered, they gathered around him in groups with tears running down their cheeks, for they themselves had scarcely a thought of surrender, and they loved Lee beyond the power of words to express. With tears streaming down his own cheeks, in a trembling tone, all he could say to them was: "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more." This poem was read at the celebration mentioned above, and all are glad that that other noble and heroic soul, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, expressed so well the feeling of the North toward this gentleman, "Virginia's son."

THE FLAG OF THE FREE (Page 244)

The poem from which these stanzas are taken was given before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, June 30, 1910.

AMERICA FOR ME (Page 247)

"America for Me" was published in *The Outlook*, September 25, 1909, under the title "Home Thoughts

From Europe." No loftier sentiment for America can be found than that expressed here by Dr. van Dyke.

THE CHALLENGE (Page 248)

Dysart McMullen (1882-) was born in Howard County, Maryland, November 9, 1882. Long years ago the name was spelled Mac Mullen, for the family are Scotch Highlanders, with Welsh blood in their veins. Dysart McMullen was educated at Rock Hill College, Maryland, under the Christian Brothers. From this college he graduated in 1901. He has written verse since he was a boy, though but little of it was published until just recently. The Scribners have published a number of selections from his pen since the Great War began. Dysart enlisted at the entrance of the United States into the war, and is now (1918) in France serving the Red Cross as a commissioned officer.

AN ODE OF DEDICATION (Page 249)

Hermann Hagedorn is a young American author of excellent standing. He is of immediate German origin, but is to the tips of his fingers one hundred per cent American. In 1907 he graduated from Harvard, and was instructor in English there from 1909 to 1911. He is the author of several one-act plays, and besides being the author of many poems, he wrote *You are The Hope of The World* (1917), *Where do you Stand? — An Appeal to Americans of German Origin* (1918), *Barbara Picks a Husband* (1918), *A Boy's Life of Theodore Roosevelt* (1918). With three other men, he organized the Vigilantes in 1916 — an organization every American should know and champion.

America entered the Great War April 6, 1917. These verses were written to be read before the Harvard Chapter, Phi Beta Kappa, June 18, 1917.

“LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD” (Page 255)

This poem is one of Henry van Dyke's best. In his *Preface* to the book from which it is reprinted (*The Red Flower*) he said: "These are verses that came to me in this dreadful war time amid the cares and labors of a heavy task." The one here given is among those in the book concerning which he said: "The rest of the verses were printed after I resigned my diplomatic post and was free to say what I thought and felt, without reserve." His work as Minister to the Netherlands after the war broke out is held in highest estimation by all civilized nations.

AMERICA AND HER ALLIES (Page 256)

Washington Gladden (1836-1918) was an author and clergyman of wide reputation. He was born at Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania, February 11, 1836, and graduated from Williams College in 1859. In 1860 he was ordained to the Congregational ministry. He held a number of important pastorates, one of which was the First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio, where he was pastor from 1882-1914. He wrote thirty or more books, and contributed numerous articles to various periodicals on religious, moral, political, and social questions. He died at Columbus, Ohio, July 2, 1918.

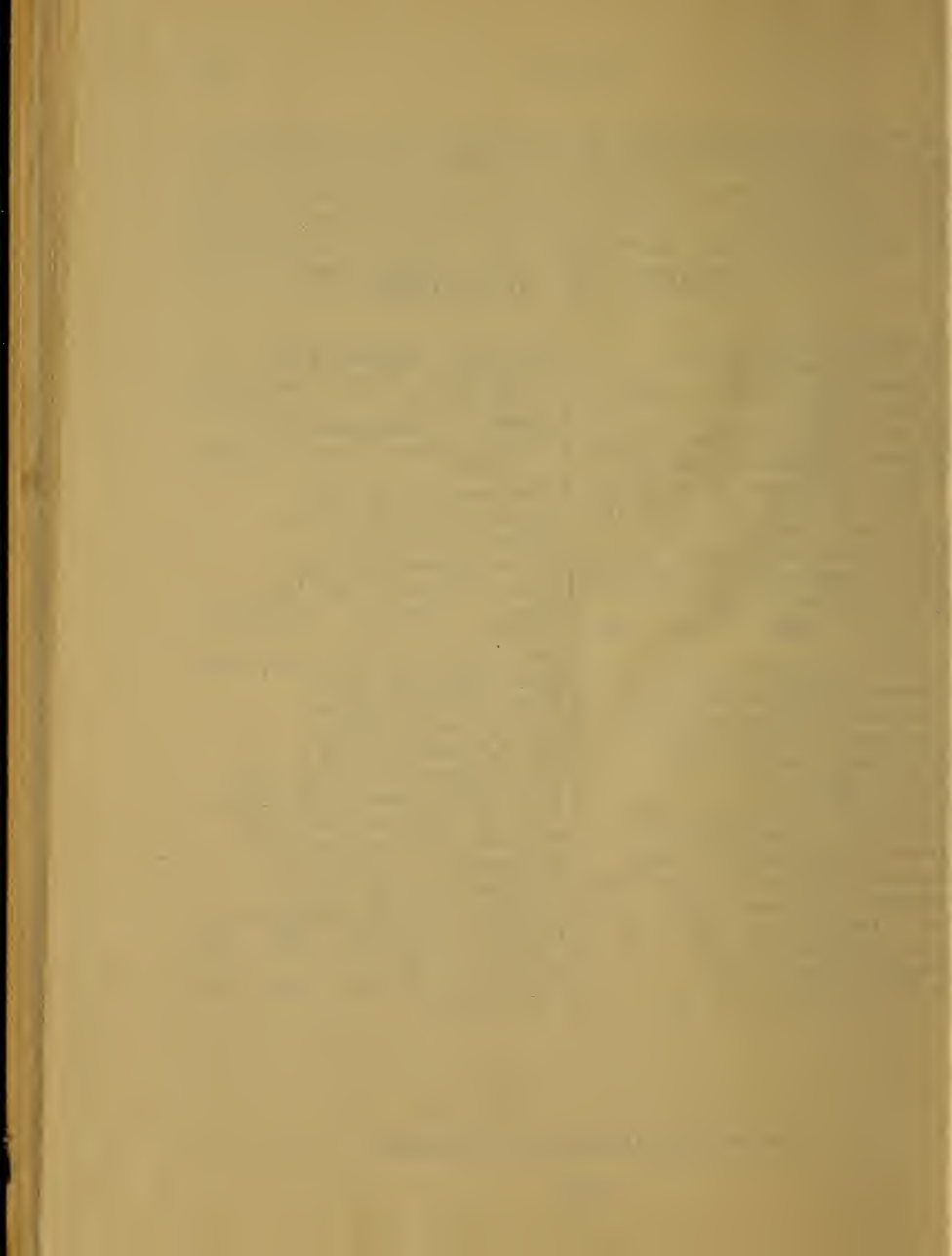
AMERICAN CONSECRATION HYMN (Page 257)

Percy MacKaye (1875-) is a dramatist of note. He was born in New York City and has traveled extensively in Europe, residing in Rome, Brunnen (Switzerland), Leipzig, and London. He taught in a private school in New York from 1900 to 1904, and since then has been engaged almost wholly in dramatic work. He has lectured at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and many other universities, on the theater. There is almost no end to his literary writings.

This hymn was dedicated by the author and the composer (Francis Macmillen) to President Wilson in response to the great incentive of the President's own words: "The Right is more precious than Peace." This "American Consecration Hymn" has been sung with great effect at the training camps.

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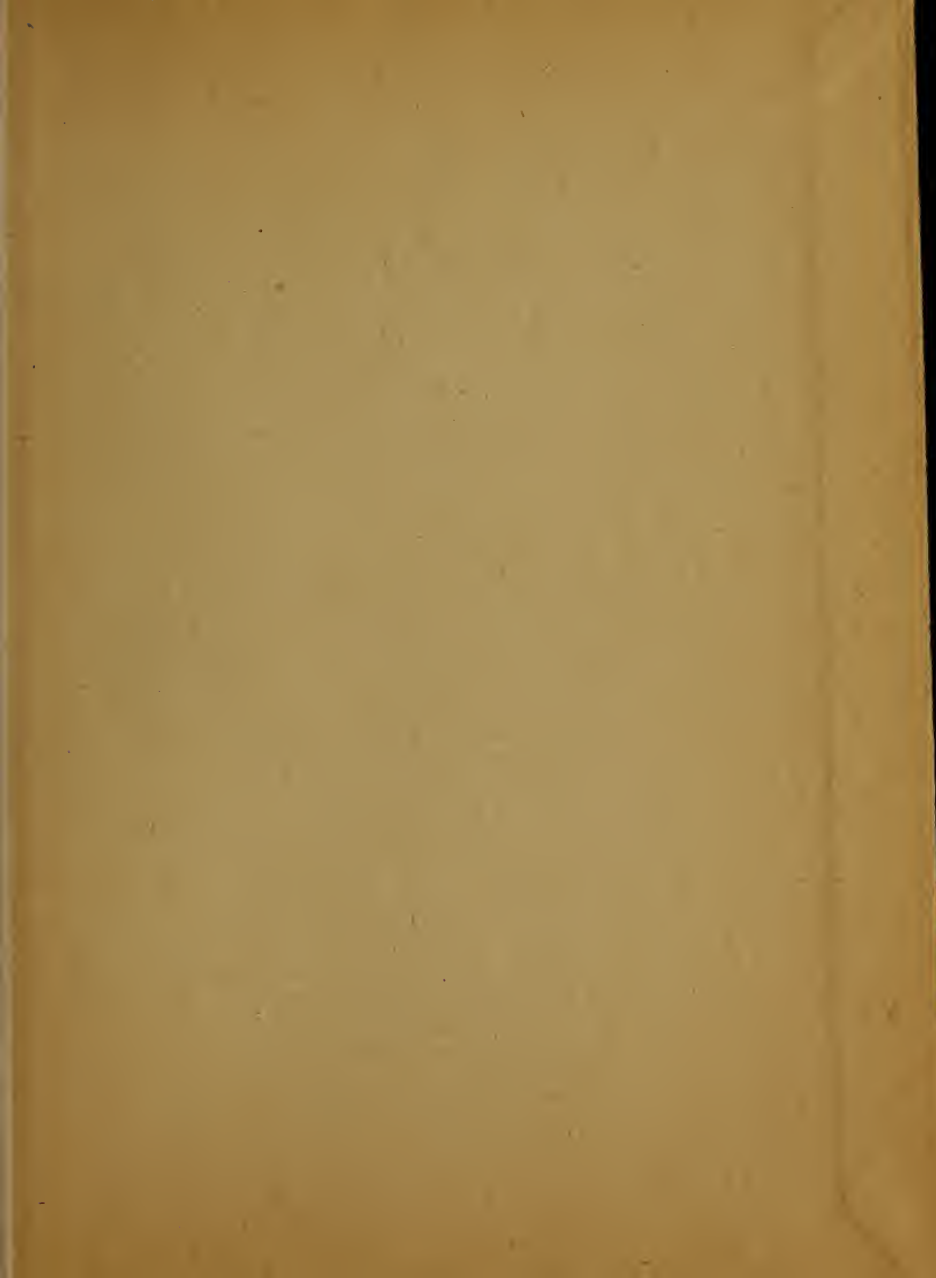
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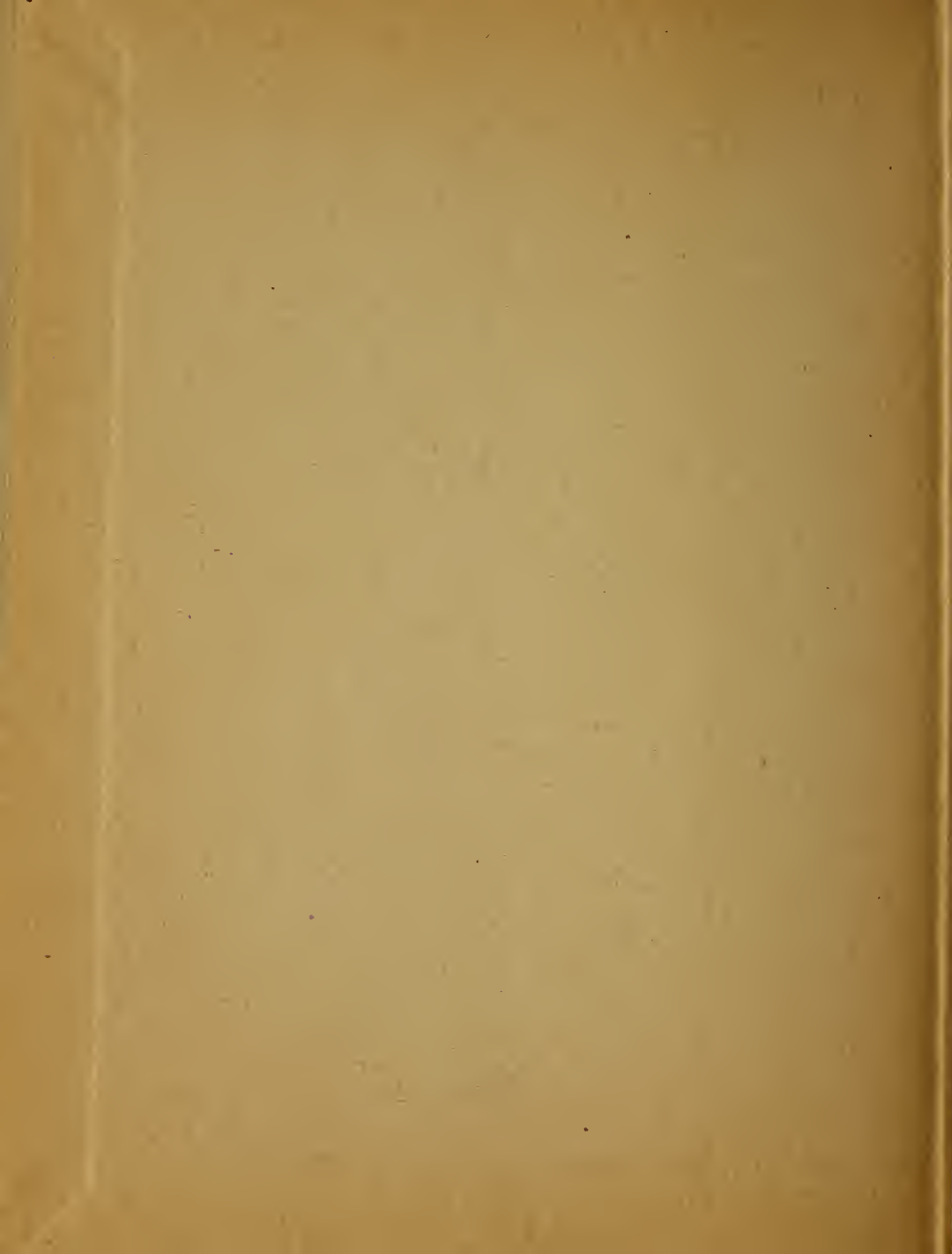
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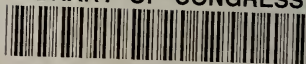
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